The UNESCO Courier

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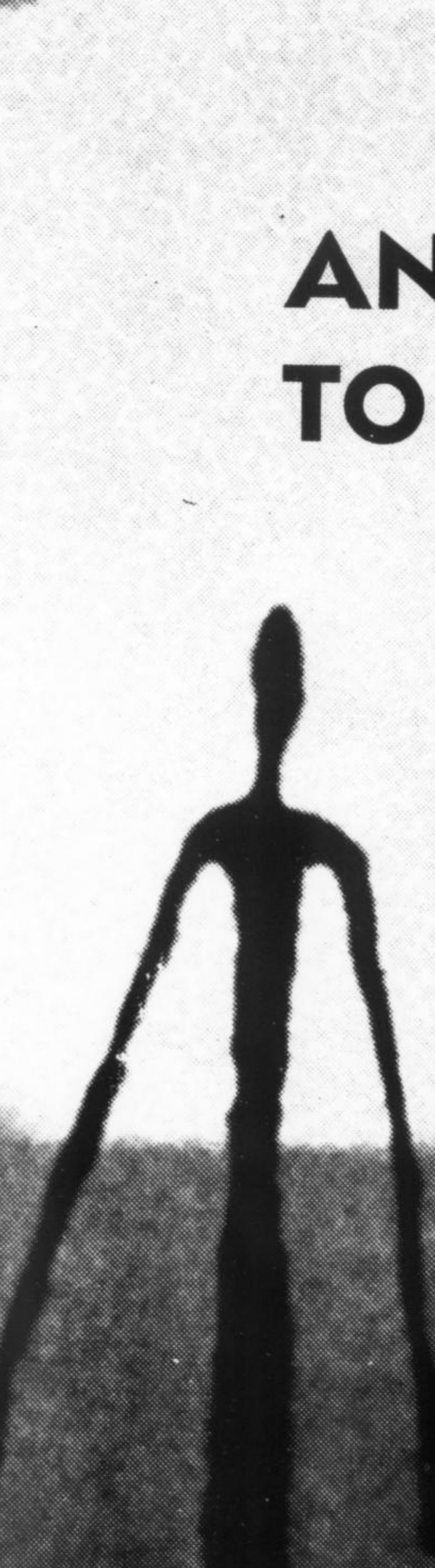
# ANSWERS TO RACISM



the drama
that still
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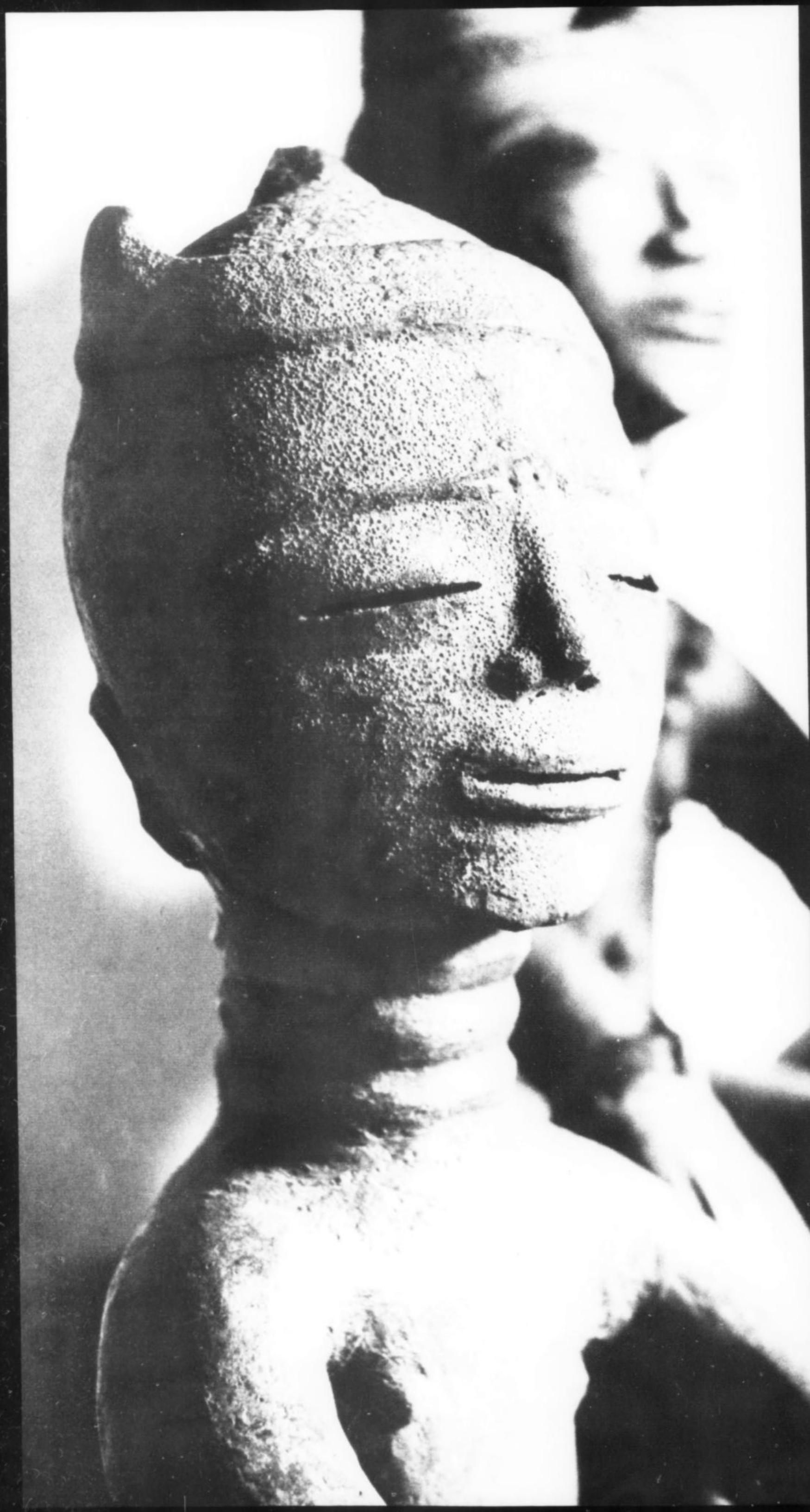
the world



# TREASURES OF WORLD ART

**60** ***Ivory Coast***

## *Women sculptors of ancient Ashanti*

**In the ancient African kingdom of Ashanti, bordering the Gulf of Guinea, ancestor figures exactly portraying the dead person were traditionally modelled by women sculptors. The custom was taken to the neighbouring Ivory Coast in the 17th century by Ashanti immigrants, among whom 17 leading families provided women sculptors for this ritual task. This terracotta ancestor figure with its long ringed neck and mysterious smile has the hairstyle of an Ashanti woman. It was found in the Krinjabo region of the Ivory Coast. Such statuettes (never over 50 cm. high) were known as "Ma-Mot", meaning "dead person" or "ancestor", and were placed on tombs as dwellings for the souls of the dead.**

Photo © Arno Hammacher-Rapho Guillemette Pictures, New York

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# The UNESCO Courier

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**24TH YEAR**

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International Year
for Action to Combat Racism
and Racial Discrimination


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## *Cover*

**On the occasion of International Year against Racism, this issue examines some of the psychological, social, biological and educational aspects of racism, and offers some answers to this drama that still plagues the modern world.**

Photo © from the film "Why Man Creates" directed by Saul Bass (U.S.A.)

FREEDOM FOR MANKIND, a preparatory design by the noted French sculptor and engraver, Guy-Charles Revol, for a sculptural work in light alloy, 3 metres in diameter.

# INTERNATIONAL YEAR AGAINST RACISM

# RACE AND I.Q.

**by Otto Klineberg**

*The United Nations General Assembly designated 1971 as International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, to be observed in the name of the ever-growing struggle against social discrimination in all its forms and in the name of international solidarity with those combatting racism. It called on all States to co-operate in every possible way in implementing this international campaign and to intensify and expand their efforts, at the national and international levels, towards ensuring the rapid and total eradication of racial discrimination, including the policy of apartheid, nazism and all of its contemporary forms, as well as other manifestations of racism. U.N. Secretary-General U Thant has expressed the hope that the International Year Against Racism will bring "a general recognition that the theories, ideas and prejudices which lead to racism and racial discrimination are unjust and abhorrent, and that a great responsibility rests upon all to eradicate the shameful practices which they encourage."*

SOME 20 years ago there was good reason to believe that the notion of a genetic or inborn racial hierarchy had practically disappeared from the thinking of social and biological scientists concerned with this issue. The general position could perhaps best be stated in negative terms, namely that there was no acceptable scientific evidence in favour of such a hierarchy, and that consequently any political or educational programme based on the alleged innate inferiority of any racial or ethnic group had no scientific validity.

Some years earlier (1944) Gunnar Myrdal and his associates in *An American Dilemma* had called for an educational offensive to reduce the gap between this position of the social scientists on the one hand, and that of the general public on the other. In the years that followed, it began to appear that at least in the United States a real change in this respect had occurred in the general public.

When a representative sample of white Americans were asked the question: "In general, do you think that Negroes are as intelligent as white people—that is, can they learn things just as well if they are given the same education and training"—the proportion answering in the affirmative rose from 50 per cent in 1942 to almost 80 per cent in 1964 (Hyman & Sheatsley).

It looked as if this particular issue was dead, or at least dying. Myrdal went so far as to say in a Nobel Symposium published in 1970: "The racial inferiority doctrine has disappeared, which is an undivided advance, since it has no scientific basis."

This "disappearance" is far from complete, however, and the question of innate psychological differences continues to attract considerable attention, not only in the United States but elsewhere as well, and not only in the general public but also among scholars.

In 1962, Carleton S. Coon presented the theory that human evolution had occurred more rapidly in Europe than in Africa, and that as a consequence modern man emerged in Europe earlier. With some caution, he added that though dead men cannot take intelligence tests, it may be inferred that "the subspecies which first crossed the evolutionary threshold into the category of *homo sapiens* have evolved the most... and the levels of civilization attained by some of its populations may be related phenomena".

In a comment on this theory, Weyl and Possony (1963) conclude that "differences in structure, physique and mentality among the racial divisions of mankind can be derived". The context makes it clear that the innate inferiority of the African is indicated by his evolution at a later date.

One is struck by the versatility of

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**OTTO KLINEBERG,** *of Canada, is one of the world's leading psychologists and authorities on race relations. He is at present visiting professor at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes at the Sorbonne and director of the International Centre for Intergroup Relations, in Paris. Among his long list of publications are: "Race Differences" (1935), "Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration" (1935), "Tensions Affecting International Understanding: A Survey of Research" (1950), and "The Human Dimension in International Relations" (1964). His study, "Race and Psychology", first published in 1951, also appeared in Unesco's "The Race Question in Modern Science" in 1956. A revised edition of this book is scheduled to be published next year. We are happy to publish here passages from a new chapter in this forthcoming new edition.*

Photo Seeberger, Paris



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## Inactivating the 'Jensen bombshell'

those who insist that there must be innate psychological differences between racial groups. In many of the earlier writings of the origin of races, for example, and also in some museums of natural history, one may find an evolutionary genealogical tree, in which whites are presented as having evolved most recently. There the inference was that Africans were more primitive and therefore inferior. In other words, if the African evolved earlier he is more primitive; if later, he is inferior because he has had less time in which to develop.

A second example of this versatility is found in the interpretation of certain test results. In 1931, Myrtle McGraw applied the Bühler Babytests to black and white infants in the south of the U.S.A. and found the latter to be superior. This was interpreted (by others) as proving that even before culture had the opportunity to exercise its influence, inborn group differences could still be demonstrated. (McGraw herself in a letter to the *American Psychologist* repudiated this interpretation of her results.)

More recently, Géber and her associates (Géber & Dean, 1957) used the tests of the Gesell Institute, in New Haven, U.S.A. on infants in Uganda, and found them to be definitely in advance of the norms established in New Haven. Weyl and Possony (1963) comment: "A superficial conclusion from this might be the mental superiority at birth of Negro children. Actually, the reverse is indicated."

Obviously, early rapid development signifies an inferior brain, more like that of an animal which quickly reaches full maturity. Again, if black infants do poorly on tests, they must be inferior; if they do well, this indicates that they will be inferior later.

By far the most striking recent development in this field—striking because of its identification with a reputable psychologist at a great university (University of California at Berkeley) and also because of the intense public reaction with which it was received—is represented by the publication in 1969 of a monograph by A. R. Jensen in the *Harvard Educational Review*.

In answer to his own question, "How far can we boost IQ and scholastic achievement?" Jensen developed the thesis that genetic factors "may play a part" in intelligence differences between black and white children.

The *Harvard Educational Review* devoted three whole issues to the views of Jensen and of his critics, the latter ranging all the way from temperate discussion of his genetic assumptions to vituperative attacks on his "racist" and reactionary viewpoint.

The popular press, throughout the United States and a number of other countries, seized upon Jensen's thesis with enthusiasm, and gave it a truly remarkable amount of publicity. It seems highly probable that opposition to the notion of innate psychological differences between blacks and whites is not very firmly rooted in the popular mind.

Another move in a direction similar to that of Jensen has been made by William Shockley, Nobel Prize-winning physicist at Stanford University, also in California, who urged the National (U.S.) Academy of Sciences to conduct extensive research into the problem of genetic (including racial) intelligence. Basing his argument in part on the results obtained by blacks and whites on intelligence tests, Shockley insists that the failure to study the nature of the genetic potential of the blacks represents a profound degree of moral irresponsibility.

The issue of racial differences in innate intellectual capacities may not, therefore, be regarded as entirely resolved. In a series of statements issued by experts convened by Unesco, the position taken is that there is no adequate scientific evidence, based either on tests or on other varieties of data, which justifies the conclusion that such differences exist.

To take only the most recent of these, dated September 1967, the conclusion is reached that: "The peoples of the world appear to possess equal biological potentialities for attaining any level of civilization", and further that: "Racism falsely claims that there is a scientific basis for arranging groups hierarchically in terms of psychological and cultural characteristics that are immutable and innate."

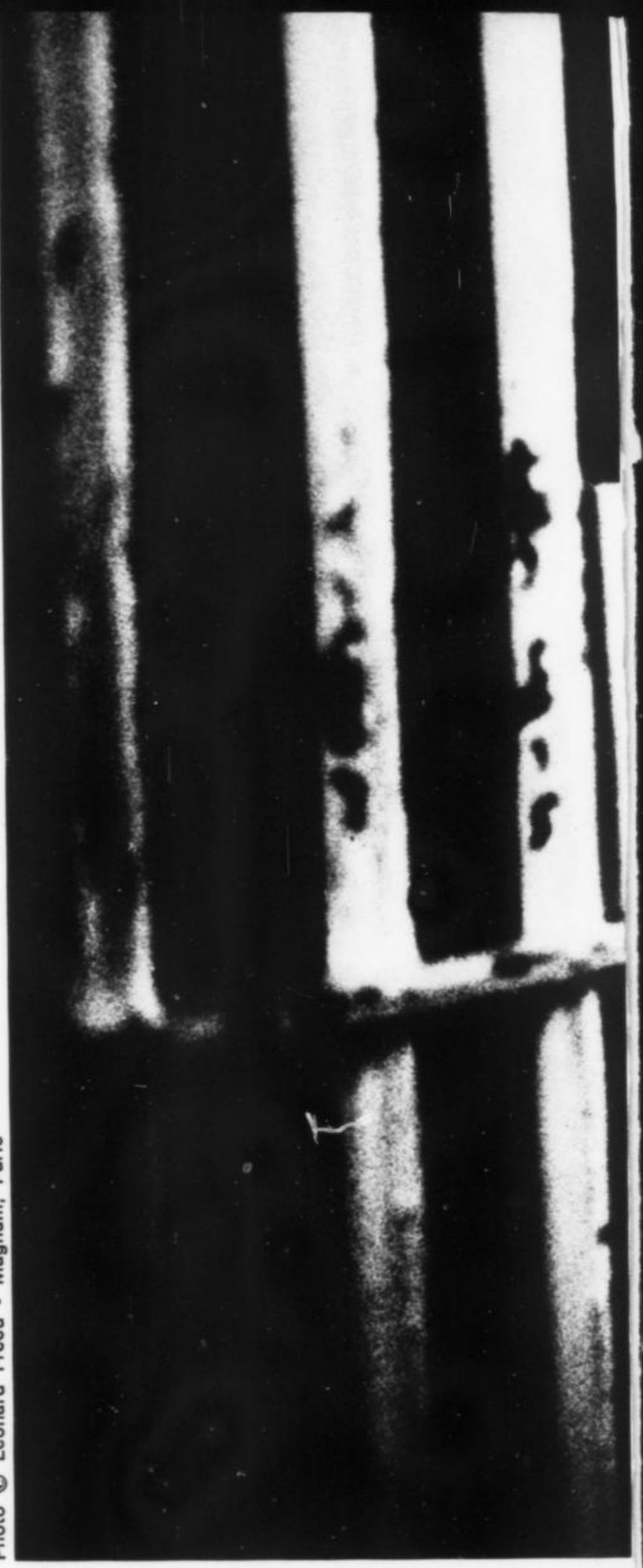
In what follows the attempt will be made to present and assess the varieties of evidence related to this thesis, with particular reference to the results obtained through the application of psychological tests.

Article II of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirms:

> Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

One of the obstacles to the realization of this part of the Declaration is the belief, widely and stubbornly held, that some races and peoples are inferior, and that they therefore do not have the same "rights" as others.

As already noted, scholars and scientists have in some cases attempted to support the argument in favour of a racial hierarchy. It is curious, although perhaps understandable, that those scientists who have expressed



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## OVERCROWDED CELLS AND PRISON DORMITORIES

themselves in this manner, have usually arrived at the conclusion that their own people are superior to all others.

Some of the German scholars, for example, were convinced that the people of Northern Europe excelled the rest of mankind in intellectual endowment as well as in character and morality. An Italian anthropologist was equally certain that the peoples of the Mediterranean were responsible for most of the great contributions to our civilization. For some black scholars, everything good in contemporary civilization has come out of Africa.

These rival claims do not help us to arrive at the truth concerning the relation of race to psychology. We need a more objective method, a more certain technique; one that is not so dependent on purely subjective judgments as to who has superior intellectual endowment, or what is a greater

**A report of the U.N. Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, of the Commission on Human Rights, is devoted to racial discrimination in South Africa and other territories in southern Africa. In territories under Portuguese administration, it writes, evidence shows that "black prisoners are subject to discriminatory treatment. Dormitories are overcrowded and cells very small. According to witnesses there is a severe lack of medical services and there are instances where prisoners have been left to die without receiving medical attention." Photo above, though not taken in Angola or other Portuguese African territories, symbolizes the plight referred to in the U.N. report.**

contribution to civilization. We need proof that is scientifically sound; evidence that is scientifically acceptable.

Psychologists have developed a method which, with all its faults, appears at first glance to have considerable advantages for this purpose—the psychological test. Instead of having to decide whether a German scientific discovery represents a higher intellectual achievement than an Italian painting, the test permits us to present to a group of Germans and Italians a series of problems to solve, and we can then determine who solves them more quickly and more effectively.

If someone else doubts our results he may repeat the study, using the same or other subjects, and the same or other tests. If his results agree with ours, our confidence in them is increased; if not, we must suspend judgment until other investigations help to determine who is right.

This is all that would be necessary to settle the question of superior and inferior races if psychological tests were perfect instruments for the measurement of native or innate differences in ability. It is true that they were accepted as such for a long time, at least by some psychologists and educators, as well as by many laymen. We now know, however, that they are far from perfect.

The successful solution of the problems presented by the tests depends on many factors—the previous experience and education of the person tested, his degree of familiarity with the subject matter of the test, his motivation or desire to obtain a good score, his emotional state, his rapport with the experimenter, his knowledge of the language in which the test is administered and also his physical health and well-being, as well as on the native capacity of the person tested.

It is only when such factors are "held constant", that is to say, when they are in essential respects similar for all subjects tested, that we have the right to conclude that those who obtain higher scores on the test are *innately* superior to those whose scores are lower.

This makes it immediately obvious that we must use great caution in interpreting the results when a psychological test is administered to two different racial or national groups. Living under different conditions, dissimilar in culture, education and point of view, such groups may differ widely in the test results not because they have an unequal heredity but because of their unequal social environment.

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# Unjustified conclusions from intelligence tests

The great French psychologist Alfred Binet, who was responsible for developing the first scale of intelligence tests in 1905, was aware of this limitation in the application of his method. He pointed out that his tests could safely be used in order to arrive at inborn differences only if the various individuals or groups tested had had substantially the same opportunities. Many psychologists neglected or forgot Binet's wise counsel, and drew unjustified conclusions from their data.

In view of the many ways in which culture and previous experience may affect test scores, it is not surprising to find that the British psychologist Philip E. Vernon, who has had long experience in research and teaching in this field, concludes: "There is no such thing as a culture-fair test, and never can be" (1968).

## *Attitudes toward the test*

One of the major arguments against the notion of a "culture-fair" or "culture-free" test is the fact that groups, and even individuals, vary greatly in their attitude toward the test. The very act of competing against others in a test situation is itself influenced by the values and attitudes developed in a particular society.

Professor S. D. Porteus in *The Psychology of a Primitive People* (1931) tells of an interesting experience in administering psychological tests to a group of Australian aborigines. The tests were made up of a series of mazes, the problem consisting of tracing a pathway through the maze until the exit was successfully reached.

Each subject was expected to perform the task by himself. This situation turned out to be a strange one for these Australian natives. They are accustomed to solving their problems together, in groups. "Not only is every problem in tribal life debated and settled by the council of elders but it is always discussed until a unanimous decision is reached."

The subjects were frequently puzzled by the fact that the examiner would give them no assistance when they experienced some difficulty in solving the problem of the maze. This was particularly true in the case of one group of natives who had recently made the psychologist a "blood brother" of their own tribe, and they could not understand why he refused to help them.

A similar indifference to the kind of competition taken for granted in Western society was noted by the present writer in an investigation undertaken among the Yakima, a tribe of American Indians living in the state of Washington on the U.S. west coast.

The tests used were a group of performance tests, in which no knowledge of language is necessary, and the task consists of placing pieces of wood of various shape into the appropriate areas of a wooden frame "as quickly as possible". The scores obtained depend on the speed with which the task is completed and the number of errors made in the process.

These Indian children, however, never hurried. They saw no reason to work quickly. Western culture places a premium on speed, on getting things done in as short a time as possible; the Indian children had not acquired this attitude. They went at their task slowly and deliberately, with none of that scrambling impatience that is so often found among American children. The Indians, as a consequence, took much longer to finish the tests, though they made somewhat fewer errors than the white Americans with whom they were compared.

The writer made an analogous observation among the Dakota (Sioux) Indians in the state of South Dakota. There it is regarded as incorrect to answer a question in the presence of others who do not know the answer: this might be interpreted as showing off, or as bringing shame to others, and is consequently condemned by the whole group.

These Indian children also have developed the conviction that it is wrong to reply to a question unless one is absolutely certain of the answer. Psychologists who have given the Binet test to these children have observed that they never guess at the answer: if they are not sure, they keep quiet indefinitely. This, too, reduces their scores to a certain extent, since a guess may succeed, and since credit is given for an answer that is even partly correct.

As a final example in this context may be noted the experience of the anthropologist Margaret Mead with Samoan children, and reported in her *Coming-of-Age in Samoa.* She was administering the Binet test, which has as one of its items the Ball-and-Field problem. A ball is lost in a circular field, and the task of the subject is to trace a pathway along which he would walk in order to find the ball.

These Samoan children, instead of tracing the most efficient pathway, used the occasion to make a pretty design. Their aesthetic interest was evidently stronger than their desire to solve the problem.

These examples all indicate the possibility that the cultural background of the individual may determine his general approach to the test situation in such a manner as markedly to influence his test score.

Even in the case of minority groups within the same society, such as American blacks, evidence indicates that their attitude toward the test, their motivation to do their best, may not be similar to what is found in the white children with whom they are compared. They are often suspicious of the test and what it means, and they lack confidence in their ability to do well.

## *Attitudes toward the children tested*

Expectations regarding performance may be important not only for those who are tested, but also for those who do the testing—and teaching. Clark (1963) has presented the view that culturally disadvantaged (one might add also culturally different) children are the unfortunate victims of teachers' educational self-fulfilling prophecies; in other words, if children are expected to do poorly, they will do poorly.

This hypothesis was tested experimentally by Rosenthal and Jacobson and published in *Pygmalion in the Classroom* (1968); they gave to teachers the names of children who allegedly had done well on a "test for intellectual blooming" which indicated that they would show striking gains in intellectual competence during the next eight months of school.

Eight months later this experimental group, together with a control group of equal competence whose names had *not* been given to the teachers, were re-tested on the same intelligence test.

The experimental group—those whom the teachers *expected* to do well—gained 4 more points in I.Q. than did the control group; on a reasoning test, the difference was 7 points. As the authors point out, the difference between the two groups *was in the mind of the teachers.* This finding appears to be of very real importance in the comparisons that have been made, and continue to be made, between ethnic groups.

## *The effect of language*

One of the clearest and most obvious ways in which social and educational background may influence test results, is through its effect on language. Most of the psychological tests in general use, including those devised by Binet, are verbal in character. For the successful solution of the problems presented, not only must the subject have an adequate comprehension of the questions asked; not only must he be able to answer intelligibly once the solution has been reached; he must also be able to manipulate words successfully in order to reach a solution.

So important is language facility in many of these tests that psychologists

can often reach quite an accurate estimate of a subject's mental level merely by knowing the extent of his vocabulary. This early led to the conclusion that these intelligence tests were unfair to the foreign-born, or to others (like the American Indians in the United States, for example) who had inadequate knowledge of the language in which the test was administered. Even if they spoke and used that language with relative ease, they were still handicapped if that were not their native language, or if they were bilingual.

This was demonstrated years ago. Welsh children speaking only English obtained better scores on the Binet scale than those who spoke both Welsh and English. In Belgium, the Walloon children who spoke only French, were superior to Flemish children speaking both French and Flemish.

This should not to be interpreted to mean that bilingualism causes a definite or permanent intellectual inferiority; it more probably is due to the simple fact that the vocabulary of a young child is so limited that if he learns words in two languages, he will not know so many in either one. With the passage of time, the handicap due to bilingualism will be more than compensated by its undoubted advantages.

## The effect of poverty

The influence of poverty or of socio-economic class on test performance cannot be kept separate from the issues already raised. Low expectations as to pupil performance may affect the poor white as well as black; differences in language patterns have been demonstrated in the case of the poor in England (by Bernstein, 1960) and in the United States (John, 1963).

The fact of poverty and its consequences acquires importance in this context because of the proportionately greater frequency of poverty among minority groups, and particularly among the blacks in the United States.

This consideration alone should impose considerable caution in arguing from the inferior test results obtained by black children (an average I.Q. of 85 as compared with the "normal" 100). Research conducted in many countries and by many psychologists indicates beyond a shadow of a doubt that the test performance of poor white children is markedly inferior to that of the well-to-do; the difference between groups at the extremes of the economic range is in the neighbourhood of 20 points in I.Q., that is to say, greater than that between American blacks and whites.

To this it is retorted that even when the comparison is between blacks and whites of the same economic level the difference, though smaller, still persists. All that this really means, however, is that poverty, although of great importance, is not the only factor responsible.

In a critical review of the research on ethnic differences in the United States, Dreger & Miller (1960) correctly point out that it is not enough to equate ethnic groups in terms of social class and economic variables; the difference is not solely socio-economic.

They add that even those blacks whose economic status is higher than that of most white persons will still in the majority of cases be prevented from living the same kind of life in all respects; many other factors may also be important.

To return to the effect of poverty, psychologists have so far not sufficiently emphasized its role in causing fundamental impairment to mental development as a consequence of malnutrition.

In a survey of the relation between nutrition and learning, Eichenwald and Fry (1969) bring together an impressive mass of data in this connexion, based partly on animal experimentation and partly on observations of the effects of nutritional deficiencies on human beings in many parts of the world, including Africa and Latin America.

They conclude that malnutrition during a critical period of early life may "permanently and profoundly affect the future intellectual and emotional development of the individual". The factor of malnutrition appears to be of fundamental importance in assessing the intellectual potentialities of poor, including poor black, people.

## The effect of previous learning and experience

In the early days of testing, many psychologists believed that the elimination of the handicap due to language was equivalent to eliminating the influence of culture and experience in general. One psychologist, Professor Florence L. Goodenough of the University of Minnesota, devised a performance test consisting in "Drawing a Man"; scores were determined not by the aesthetic quality of the drawing, but by the inclusion of the largest possible number of essential aspects, by proper attention to bodily proportions.

She regarded this test as "culture-free" that is, independent of the previous background and experience of the subjects, and therefore capable of measuring native differences in intelligence. In 1926, she conducted a study by means of this test, and reported definite differences in the "intelligence" of various immigrant groups in the United States, as well as between whites and Negroes.

Since then, many investigators have made use of this test, and they have been able to demonstrate that, contrary to the earlier view, the results are indeed affected by many aspects of previous experience. Professor Goodenough herself later recognized this fact, and very honestly and courageously pointed out her former error.

Writing with Dale B. Harris on "Studies in the psychology of children's drawings" in the *Psychological Bulletin* (Sept. 1950) she expresses the opinion that the search for a culture-free test, whether of intelligence, artistic ability, personal-social characteristics, or any other measurable trait is illusory, and ... the naive assumption that the mere freedom from verbal requirements renders a test equally suitable for all groups is no longer tenable.

More recent evidence along the same lines comes from a study by Wayne Dennis (1966) who gave the Draw-a-Man test to samples of children in approximately fifty different cultures. Averages ranged from an I.Q. of 124 for children in American and English suburbs, in a Japanese fishing village, and among the Hopi Indians. The lowest average, 52, was found in children of a nomadic Bedouin tribe in Syria; this is explained by their limited experience in graphic art. Children of Lebanese Arabs, on the other hand, with considerable exposure to Western culture obtained an average I.Q. of 94.

## Qualitative differences in test performance

Factors related to cultural background and previous experience may also determine qualitative differences in the nature of test performance. Strauss (1954), for example, found that university students in Ceylon obtained better scores than Americans on verbal tests, but were markedly inferior on non-verbal or performance tests. He suggests that their culture "has the effect of defining a set of role behaviours that on the one hand tends to deprecate manual and technical ability, and on the other tends to emphasize and reward the verbal type of scholarly excellence".

A number of other investigators have been concerned with qualitative differences in test scores obtained by various ethnic groups. Vernon (1969), found an entirely different pattern of abilities in the case of Jamaican and Eskimo boys, respectively; the former were better in Arithmetic and Word-learning, the latter in tests dependent on Induction and on Drawing.

Lesser *et al* (1965) also found qualitative (as well as quantitative) differences in the abilities of young Chinese, Jewish, Negro and Puerto Rican children in the United States; Iscoe and Pierce Jones (1964) showed that although Negro children were inferior to whites in general test scores, they were superior in measures of what the authors call "divergent thinking", based on the ability to suggest a number of different uses for familiar objects. Clearly differences in the measured capacity of ethnic groups may be a function of the particular test applied.

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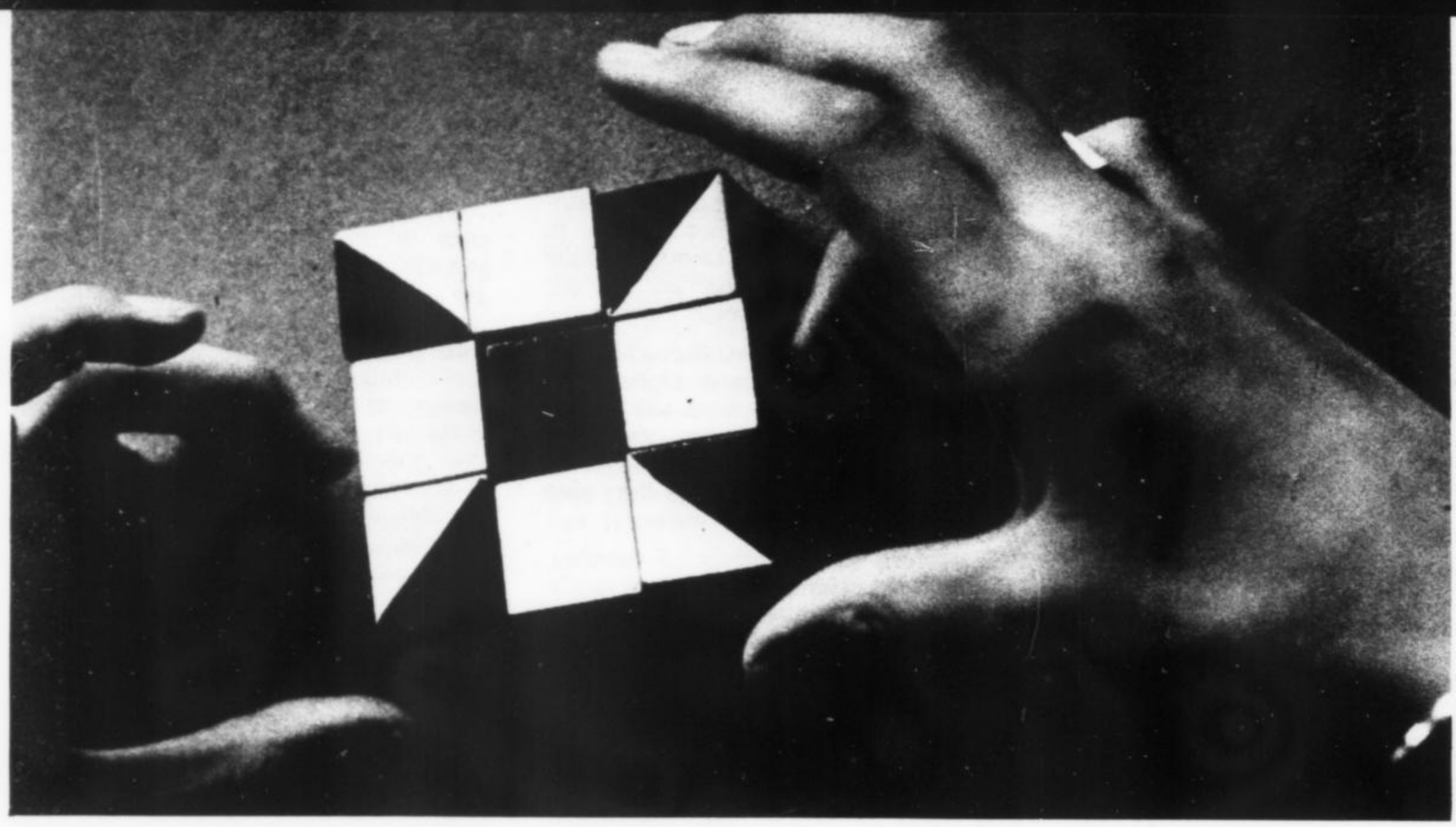

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# WHAT PRICE I. Q. TESTS?

**Drawing on the results of psychological tests given to children of varied origins, certain psychologists, even recently, have argued in favour of the notion of a genetic or inborn racial hierarchy. Many other experiments, however, have shown overwhelmingly that the theory has no scientific validity. Groups of distinguished scientists convened by Unesco have issued a series of statements on race. The most recent of these affirmed, in 1967, that "Racism falsely claims that there is a scientific basis for arranging groups hierarchically in terms of psychological and cultural characteristics that are immutable and innate". As instruments for measuring and comparing innate differences in ability among different ethnic groups, intelligence tests are far from perfect. Previous experience and education, living conditions, background and emotional factors can influence the results. Thus, faced with one test or another designed to measure the Intelligence Quotient (above, a test in which various shaped blocks are used to form a specific design in a given time) the reaction of this woman from northeastern Siberia (left) or that of the Brazilian Indian, who seems to be playing at "cat's cradle" (top right) may differ completely from those of a European or an African. Research shows that as environmental opportunities of different groups become more alike, as in the case of the black and white children in the classroom, right, differences in test results also tend to disappear.**

XUM

Photo © Chiara - Musée de l'Homme, Paris

Photo © Göksin Sipahioglu, Paris

## Objections to Jensen—continued

If every test is "culture-bound" that is to say, affected by the whole complex of previous education, training and experience, can the use of tests give us any information at all about racial differences, or similarities, in intelligence? If we cannot disentangle hereditary from environmental influences in the results, has the testing method any relevance at all to our problem?

We can of course legitimately say that racial differences in intelligence cannot be demonstrated by means of the tests, for the reasons given; we can at least say: "Not proven!" Is that all we can say? Or is there some more positive manner in which the tests may be used to answer the questions we are raising?

LET us look at the problem a little differently. It is true that the test scores obtained by two different groups are due to the interaction of hereditary and environmental factors which cannot be disentangled. The inferiority of one of these groups to the other may then be due to an inferior heredity, or to a poorer environment, or both.

Suppose now we make the two environments more similar; equalize them as far as possible. If as the environments become more alike, the difference in test scores tends to disappear; if when the environments are to all practical purposes equalized, the difference in test scores disappears completely; we then have a strong argument in favour of the environmental rather than the hereditary explanation of the observed differences. What do the results show?

If a test which has been found to be useful in establishing differences among children in Paris or New York is administered to children in Mozambique or New Guinea, we could hardly expect the latter groups to do as well as the former. That should be obvious, though unfortunately it has not always been recognized.

There are, however, a number of countries in which groups of different ethnic or racial origin live side by side, and it would seem a simple matter to use such groups as a basis for comparison.

If in the United States, for example, we find Americans of Scandinavian, Italian, Chinese, Negro and American Indian origin, all living in an "American" environment, can we not assume that they all have the same cultural background, the same educational and economic opportunities so that any differences in test results could with scientific safety be attributed to differences in hereditary capacity?

Unfortunately, this is not so. The American Indian, for example, usually lives on reservations separate from the surrounding community; he usually goes to different schools; he lives a different life; he speaks English, but frequently not too well; his economic status is on the average inferior.

The Negro, although his position in American life has improved markedly in recent years, is still in most cases subject to very definite handicaps; his economic status is also on the average very much below that of the whites; the schools which he attends have certainly been inferior in the past, and to a certain extent are still inferior to-day; he finds it more difficult to obtain certain types of employment, or to participate fully in American life.

Once that is understood, it should not be surprising to find that American Indians and Negroes, adults as well as children, do on the average obtain test scores inferior to those of whites. But, it must be noted, this is a difference *on the average*. There are many *individual* Negroes who obtain scores higher than those of a great many individual whites. What is more important, there are sometimes whole groups of Negroes who do better on the tests than groups of whites with whom they have been compared.

This important fact first aroused widespread interest during the First World War, when over a million recruits in the American Army, including many Negroes, were given psychological tests. The results showed that Negroes from the south (where educational and economic handicaps were greater) obtained scores which on the average were definitely inferior to those of Negroes from the north (where such handicaps, though they existed, were much less severe).

Even more strikingly, the Negroes from some of the northern states turned out to be superior to the whites from some of the southern states. This was true in the case of both types of intelligence tests used, one depending on language, the other a performance or non-language test.

It began to appear, at least to some psychologists, as if the colour of the skin were less important in determining success with the tests, than the opportunities given to the individual to acquire the needed abilities.

As an indication of the wide differences in test scores, within the same racial group, which accompany differences in the environment, one finds at one extreme, a group of Negro children in rural Tennessee obtaining an average Intelligence Quotient of 58, and at the other extreme, Negro children in Los Angeles, California, with an average Intelligence Quotient of 105.

For the white population as a whole, an I.Q. of 100 is to be expected; that is by definition the standard or norm with which these results are to be compared. In the inferior environment of rural Tennessee, the Negro score goes far below this standard; in the more favourable environment of a big city like Los Angeles, the Negro score reaches and even exceeds by a small amount the "normal" Intelligence Quotient. This is an important result and its implications for so-called racial differences in innate capacity appear to be obvious.

Another ethnic group which has been studied in considerable detail, and with a large variety of tests, is the American Indian. In general, their test scores are the lowest of all groups examined in the United States; their average Intelligence Quotient is in the neighbourhood of 81, instead of the "normal" 100. This result is not at all surprising, in the light of the "cultural" factors discussed above.

The late Professor T. R. Garth of the University of Denver, Colorado, tried to discover what would happen if American Indian children were given the opportunity to live in a social environment similar to that of other American children. He made a study of Indian children who had been placed in white foster homes, cared for by white foster parents. These Indian foster children obtained an average Intelligence Quotient of 102.

MORE recently evidence has accumulated to indicate that training may markedly raise the level of performance. McFie (1961) was able to produce a substantial improvement in the test scores of his African subjects as a result of education which placed emphasis on drawing and construction; there was a significant increase in both speed and accuracy of performance.

Lloyd and Pidgeon (1961) also report that in testing school children in Natal, they were able to produce a marked rise in the test scores of African children after two short sessions of coaching. The authors warn against any assumptions about the innate abilities of children from different cultures on the basis of these tests.

A significant review by Hunt (1971) of a number of educational programmes, directed not only to the children of the poor but also to the mothers of such children, has shown how much can be done to improve performance. He writes: "These findings of substantial gains in the I.Q.s. of children of mothers so taught . . . provides a substantial hope of developing a method of preventing the development of incompetence in children of poverty..." Hunt adds that

this perspective is applicable to both the black and the white poor.

With these findings in mind, it is difficult to understand why Jensen answers his own question, "How much can we boost I.Q. and scholastic achievement?", with the conclusion that the gains are small. Many of his critics have pointed out that gains have indeed been obtained, and that they would be much more substantial if the relevant programmes were maintained over a sufficiently long period, and affected a wider range of the child's experience.

A statement by the Council of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, a division of the American Psychological Association, includes these words:

> "One of our most serious objections to Jensen's article is to his vigorous assertion that compensatory education has apparently failed. The major failure in so-called compensatory education has been in the planning, size, and scope of the programme. We maintain that a variety of programmes planned to teach specific skills have been effective and that a few well-designed programmes which teach problem-solving and thinking have also been successful. The results from these programmes strongly suggest that continuous and carefully planned intervention procedures can have a substantially positive influence on the performance of disadvantaged children."

Jensen has been severely criticized on a number of counts, including the neglect of many of the research findings that throw doubt on his thesis, and the fact that a good deal of his argument is really irrelevant to the subject of race differences. He makes a strong case, for example, in favour of the role of genetics in determining variations among individuals and families; most psychologists would agree that heredity does play an important part in connexion with such individual variations, without, however, accepting his inference that this implies ethnic differences as well.

On this latter point the conclusion is still "Not proven". It should also be emphasized that Jensen is not nearly so dogmatic in his assertions as some newspapers reported. His actual words are that it is a "reasonable hypothesis" that genetic factors "may play a part" in intelligence differences between black and white children.

The many factors that enter into test performance, and that have been reviewed above, indicate, however, that even this relatively temperate position rests on no solid evidence, and that his hypothesis is far from "reasonable" in the light of the various considerations.

One further important environmental factor emerges from the report prepared by J. S. Coleman and his colleagues

**CONTINUED PAGE 32**

Photo New Zealand House, London

## NEW ZEALAND OUTLAWS RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

**New Zealand, a country which has always prided itself on its race relations, today seeks to maintain this situation through a law that will make racial discrimination illegal from January 1, 1972. With the country's growing Maori population moving increasingly to the cities and an influx of Polynesians from the South Pacific islands, the government sees the need for safeguards against the possibility of racial tensions. New Zealanders have also become aware of changes in world opinion regarding racialism, and this has influenced the government to clarify the country's position concerning racial equality. In recent years a greater awareness of the minority Maori group has developed in New Zealand. Intermarriage has contributed to the change, but so has an upsurge in interest in Maori arts and crafts and in the Maori language. Here, a young Maori woman—a former "Miss New Zealand"—greets a former president of the New Zealand Travel and Holidays Association with a "hongi"—traditional Maori greeting in which noses are touched together during the handshake.**

Photo Hugues Vassal - Gamma, Paris

**SEGREGATION IN SPORT** is strictly enforced under South Africa's apartheid laws. White and non-white persons may not compete against each other in sports nor even attend the same sporting event as spectators. Exceptionally, as in this photo taken recently near Johannesburg, non-whites are allowed to attend major events provided that separate entrances, seating and toilet facilities are made available.

# Inequality before the law in S. Africa

*Like other modern States, the Republic of South Africa is a country governed by laws. And the laws by which a country chooses to live are normally matters with which the United Nations not only does not concern itself, but which, in fact, it is expressly forbidden from interfering with by its own Charter.*

*However, a feature that gives to the laws of South Africa the character and dimension which have caused concern throughout the world and which have made them the subject of formal denunciation by the United Nations can be simply stated: while these laws apply to all the people of South Africa—white and non-white alike—they are laws of the white man alone, enacted by the white man alone, for the benefit of the white man alone. Neither in the formulation nor in the execution of these "laws" do the Africans, who form 70 per cent of the population, nor the Asians and the Coloured, have any voice or influence.*

*It is this character which makes many of the "laws" of South Africa, in effect and in reality, instruments of iniquity and oppression.*

*The following examples are drawn from a study prepared by Professor Leslie Rubin of Howard University, Washington, D.C., a former Senator in South Africa, representing Africans, for the United Nations Secretariat's Unit on Apartheid, showing how legislation described by the South African Government as being designed to promote "separate development", amounts to a legalized contempt for all human beings of the non-white races.*



XUM

## RACE AND COLOUR

A person who is "obviously in appearance white" and is "generally accepted as a white person" may not be classified as a white person if one of his natural parents has been classified as a coloured person.

AN African is "a person who in fact is or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa".

A coloured person is "a person who is not a white person or an African".

A person who is not in fact an African, but "in appearance obviously is an African" will be classified as such in the population register, unless he discharges the onus of proving that he is not in fact and is not generally accepted as African.

A man who "in appearance obviously is a white person" must be classified as a coloured person, if one of his natural parents has been classified as a white person and the other as a coloured person.

IN deciding whether or not a person is "in appearance obviously a white person" the official concerned must take into account such person's "habits, education, speech, deportment and demeanour in general".

IF a person "in appearance obviously not a white person" is "generally accepted as a white person" in the area where he is employed, but is not so accepted in the area where he lives, he may not be classified as a white person.

EVEN twenty-five years after a person has been classified in the population register as a white person and issued with the corresponding identity card, the Secretary of the Interior has the right to seek such person's reclassification.

## MOVEMENT

A proclamation in the *Government Gazette* may, at any time, prohibit any African from being in any town during such hours of the night as are specified, unless he is in possession of a written permit signed by his employer or by an authorized official.

EVERY African who has attained the age of sixteen years must be in possession of a Reference Book. Any policeman may call at any time on any African to produce his Reference Book. An African unable to do so because he has left it at home is guilty of a criminal offence.

## HOME, FAMILY AND RESIDENCE

AN African who was born in a town and lived there continously for fifty years, but then left to reside elsewhere for any period, even two weeks, is not entitled as of right to return to the town where he was born and to remain there for more than seventy-two hours, unless he has obtained a permit.

AN African who has, since birth, resided continuously in a town is not entitled as of right to have living with him in that town for more than seventy-two hours a married daughter, a son who has reached the age of eighteen, a niece, a nephew or a grandchild.

IF an African woman, having contracted a marriage, takes up permanent residence with her husband in accommodation provided by his employer in a town where her husband has lived and worked continuously for 25 years, she is guilty of a criminal offence.

A policeman is entitled to enter and search premises on which he has reason to suspect that any African youth (eighteen years of age) is committing the criminal offence of residing with his father without having been issued with the necessary permit to do so.

AN African boy, aged sixteen, who has left school and lives at home with his parents (who maintain him) but does not work may, at any time, be arrested without warrant by a policeman who "has reason to believe that he is an idle person".

AN African who was born in a town and has worked and lived there for five years may be required at any time to leave that town and take up residence in a Bantu area where he has never lived and has no relatives or friends. If he remains in the town more than three days after he has received written notice to leave, he is guilty of a criminal offence.

THE law of South Africa provides for the division of all towns into separate "group areas" in which only members of the white and the coloured "groups", may own land or premises.

NO "obviously white" person who is married to or cohabits with an African or a coloured person may be included in the white group.

THE State President may, "whenever it is deemed expedient", by proclamation in the "Government Gazette", declare that a defined area which has been occupied by coloured persons who own land there (no matter how long such occupation and ownership have continued) shall be a white group area as from a specified date. When such white group area has been declared, a coloured person living in the area (even though he has lived there continuously for fifty years in a house which he owns) may not remain there longer than such period of grace, of not less than twelve months, as the Minister of the Interior, in his discretion, decides to grant.

NO white person living in a town may (unless he has received a licence from the city council) accommodate on the premises which he owns the son of his African servant who lives there, if such son has reached the age of ten years.

## WORK

A labour officer may, at any time, cancel the employment of an African who works in a town, no matter how long he has been employed, even though his employer opposes the cancellation. An African whose employment has been cancelled, may be removed from the town where he worked and prohibited from returning to that town for such period as the labour officer specifies.

A white person living in a town who employs an African to do any carpentry, bricklaying, electrical fitting or other skilled work without special exemption granted by the Minister of Labour commits a criminal offence. A white person living in a town commits a criminal offence if he employs an African as a waiter at a party in his home, unless such African has been granted the necessary permit by a labour bureau officer.

IT is unlawful for an African worker to take part in a strike for any reason whatsoever. If he does, he is guilty of a criminal offence punishable by a fine not exceeding $1,400 or imprisonment for not longer than three years, or both such fine and imprisonment.

AN African factory worker who calls on other workers to strike for an increase in pay commits a criminal offence.

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

AN African who, as a personal favour and without receiving payment, repairs a defective electrical fitting in the living quarters of a friend who resides on his employer's premises in a town is guilty of a criminal offence.

AN African is prohibited from doing skilled work in the building industry in any town in white South Africa.

A white person who pays his domestic servant for repairing a damaged roof in his home commits a criminal offence.

A municipal labour officer may, at any time, terminate the employment of any African in his area, if he decides that such employment "is not bona fide", even though the employment has continued for twenty-five years to the complete satisfaction of such African's white employer.

A white workman, who is permanently totally disabled is entitled to a monthly pension based on his earnings; an African similarly disabled is entitled to a lump sum based on his earnings, but not to a monthly pension.

WHEN an employer has established living quarters for his African workers, no worker living there may receive a visitor at any time, unless he has been granted permission to do so by his employer or some other authorized person.

## EDUCATION

THE Minister of Bantu Education may, at any time, and without being required to give any reason for doing so, withdraw any subsidy previously granted by him to a school maintained by an African tribe or community.

AN African living in a town who, without being paid for his services, conducts a class in reading and writting in his own home for a few of his African friends is guilty of a criminal offence.

A white man who spends a few hours each week in his own home teaching his African servants to read is guilty of a criminal offence.

AN African religious minister who conducts regular classes for his congregation, in which he teaches them to read the Bible, is guilty of a criminal offence.

A private correspondence college which enrols an African as a student in any course without the permission of the Minister of Bantu Education is guilty of a criminal offence.

ANY person who provides special education for handicapped African children without the approval of the Minister of Bantu Education is guilty of a criminal offence.

AN African student who attends even a single lecture in a course at the University of Cape Town without the permission of the Minister of Bantu Education is guilty of a criminal offence.

## MARRIAGE

IF a marriage officer performs a marriage ceremony between a white man and a coloured woman, the latter having falsely represented that she is white, the marriage is void and of no effect.

IF a white South African lawfully marries a coloured woman abroad, the marriage is void and of no effect in South Africa.

## ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION

AN African who has lived continuously for fifty years in the town in which he was born is not entitled as of right to have an African friend visit and remain with him for more than seventy-two hours.

IT is unlawful for a white person and a non-white person to drink a cup of tea together in a café anywhere in South Africa unless they have obtained a special permit to do so.

UNLESS he has obtained a special permit, an African professor delivering a lecture at a white club, which has invited him to do so, commits a criminal offence.

A coloured person attending a public cinema in a town (even though he occupies specially separated seating) is guilty of a criminal offence, unless a special permit has been issued.

AN African attending a Church fete in a town is guilty of a criminal offence, unless a special permit has been issued.

IF there are no cinemas in a coloured township a permit will be issued allowing coloured persons to attend a cinema in a town, provided that separate entrance, seating "and other facilites" are available for coloured persons.

A permit will not be granted to a white orchestra to accompany an African choir presenting performances even though the audiences are segregated.

A permit will not be granted to Africans to watch a Carnival organized by the students of a white university; it will be granted to coloured persons and Asians only on condition that no refreshments are served.

IF an Asian (or a coloured person or an African) sits on a bench in a public park (which has been set apart for the exclusive use of white persons), by way of protest against the apartheid laws, he commits a criminal offence punishable by a fine of not more than $840 or imprisonment for not longer than three years or a whipping of not more than ten strokes, or both such fine and imprisonment, or both such fine and whipping, or both such imprisonment and whipping.

ANYONE who has rendered aid to the family of a person convicted of committing an offence by way of protest against apartheid laws is also guilty of an offence.

IF there is only one waiting-room in a railway station, it is lawful for the station-master to reserve that waiting-room for the exclusive use of white persons, and any non-white person wilfully entering it commits a criminal offence.

AN unmarried man who is "obviously in appearance" or "by general acceptance and repute" a white person and who attempts to have sexual intercourse with a woman who is not "obviously in appearance" or "by general acceptance and repute" a white person is guilty of a criminal offence punishable by imprisonment with compulsory hard labour for not longer than seven years, unless he can prove to the satisfaction of the court that he had reasonable cause to believe, at the time that the alleged offence was committed, that she was "obviously in appearance or by general acceptance and repute" a white person.

A coloured person is guilty of attending a "gathering" if he has two friends to dinner.

IT is unlawful for any political party to exist unless all its members are persons who belong to the

same ethnic group i.e. unless all its members are Africans or whites or coloured persons.

IF a white person addresses a gathering most of the members of which are coloured, and calls on his audience to support any political party, he is guilty of a criminal offence.

## TAXATION

EVERY African, male and female, who has reached the age of eighteen years is liable to pay an annual tax (known as the general tax) of a least $ 4.90, in addition to the ordinary income tax payable by all South Africans, unless he satisfies the authorized official that he has reached the age of sixty-five years.

EVERY African who is the occupier of a dwelling in an African township is liable to pay an annual tax (known as the local tax) of $ 1.40.

IN certain defined areas, any white policeman may, at any time, stop an African walking in a city street, if he believes him to be liable to pay these taxes, and demand from him the receipt for his general tax or local tax for inspection.

IF the African fails to comply with such demand, the policeman may arrest him and have him brought before a Bantu Affairs Commissioner, who may then order his detention until arrangements have been made for payment of such tax as may be due.

## OWNERSHIP OF LAND

NO African is entitled as of right to acquire freehold title to land anywhere in South Africa; nor is it the intention of the present Government ever to grant such right to the African, even in his own Bantu areas.

## OPINION AND EXPRESSION

THE South African Publications Control Board consists of nine persons (all of them white) appointed and paid by the Government. One of the functions of the Board is to prevent the showing of any film which depicts white and non-white children sharing the same classroom or white and non-white adults dancing with one another or white and non-white men and women embracing and kissing one another.

ANOTHER function of the South African Publications Control Board is to prevent the showing of any educational documentary film which expresses approval of racial integration or disapproval of discrimination based on race and colour.

IT is a criminal offence for a newspaper to publish an article which is held by the court to have harmed relations between whites and Africans because it used strong language to assert that apartheid is unjust to the African people.

THE South African Publications Control Board may, by notice in the *Government Gazette* prohibit the importation into South Africa of all books (other than those for which it chooses to issue a special permit) published by a specified publisher, if it is of the opinion that such books are likely to create the impression that apartheid is unjust to the non-white people of South Africa.

IF an African has received a letter from another African asking him to join in a peaceful demonstration against unjust apartheid laws, his premises may be searched at any time on a warrant issued by a magistrate for evidence that an offence has been committed.

IF such letter was typed, the typewriter may be seized and delivered to a magistrate who may order that it be destroyed.

ANY African born outside South Africa (even though he has lived in South Africa for 50 years and has not committed an offence) may be declared to be an undesirable inhabitant.

AN African who writes "Down with Apartheid" on the wall of the house of any person, is guilty of a criminal offence.

IF one issue of a weekly magazine published in South Africa has been held to be undesirable, and the Publications Control Board is of the opinion that every subsequent issue is likely to be undesirable, all future issues of the magazine may be prohibited as undesirable, by notice in the *Government Gazette*.

## THE RULE OF LAW

AN African who has been required by an order of Court to leave a certain area must do so, and no Court of law may grant an injunction preventing such removal, nor may appeal or review proceedings stay or suspend such removal, even when it has been established beyond all doubt that the order of Court was intended for some other person and was served upon him in error.

ANY person who breaks the window of a building (including a private residence) in the course of a demonstration calling for the grant of increased rights to the African people, is guilty of the offence of sabotage, unless he proves that his act was not calculated or intended to encourage feelings of hostility between white persons and Africans. The offence is punishable by sentence of death.

ANY person who advocates military intervention by the United Nations in Namibia (South West Africa) is guilty of a criminal offence punishable by imprisonment for not less than 5 years or by death.

NO person other than the Minister of Justice or an official may have access to such detained person, nor is any person (not even members of his immediate family) entitled to any information as to what has happened to him or where he is.

NO court of law may order the release of such detainee or pronounce upon the validity of any action which has been taken against him.

AN African living in a Bantu area may not, without special permission to do so, carry a knife whose blade is more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, while outside the allotment on which he resides. If he does he is guilty of a criminal offence punishable by a fine of not more than $ 280 or imprisonment for not longer than 12 months, or a whipping, or both imprisonment and a whipping. ■

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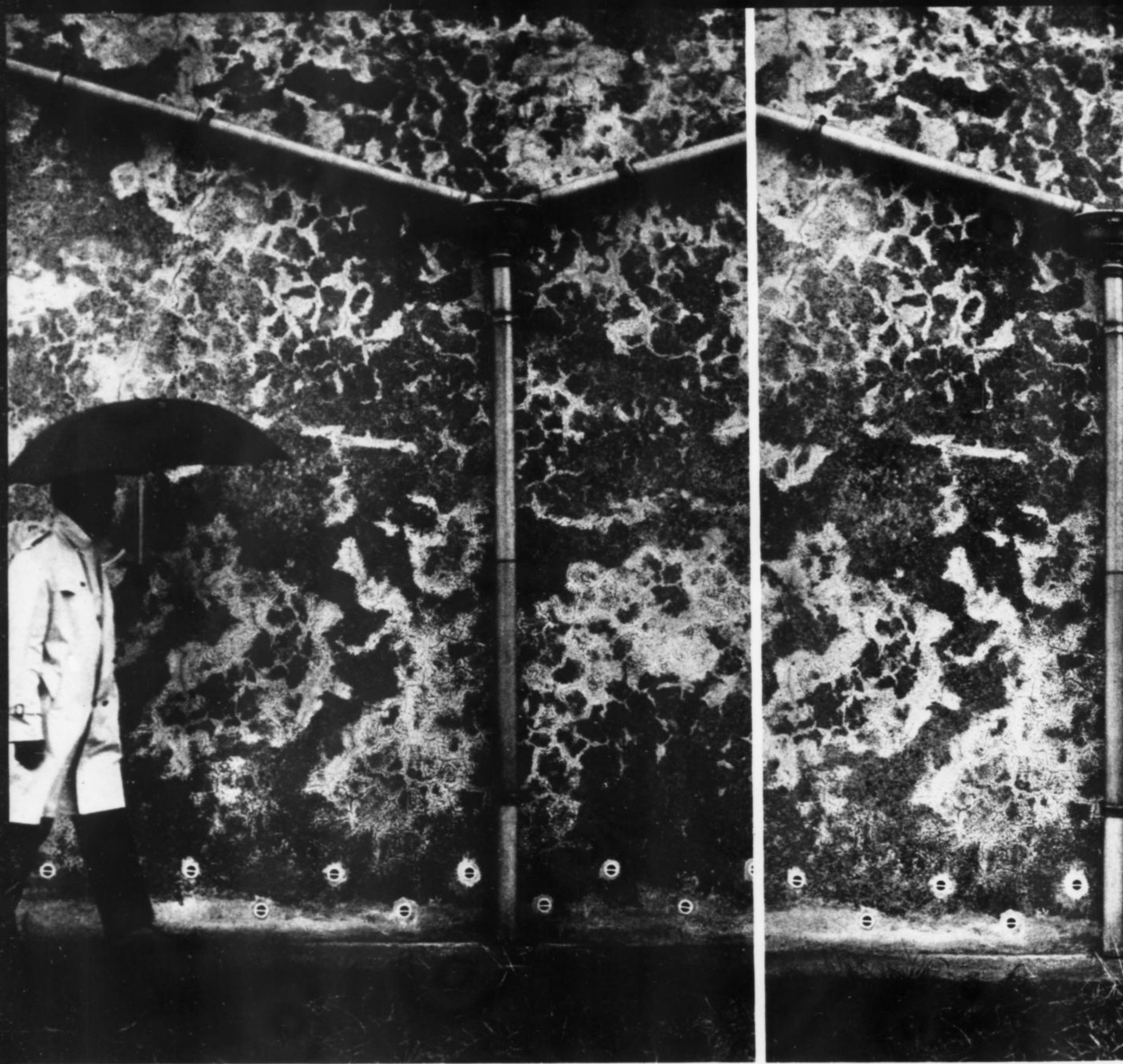
***The case-laws cited derive, for the most part, from the Bantu (Urban Areas Consolidation) Act No. 25 of 1945 ; the Bantu (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act No. 67 of 1952; the Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act No. 48 of 1953 ; the Bantu Building Workers Act. No 27 of 1951 ; the Workmen's Compensation Act No 30 of 1941; the Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953; the Extension of University Education Act No. 45 of 1959 and Proclamation No. 333 of 1 November 1957 issued under the Group Areas Act No. 77 of 1957.***



# BALLET OF UMBRELLAS

These photographs were taken by a French schoolteacher, Marc Paygnard, of Longwy, in Lorraine. They hang on the walls of his classroom so that the children of his various classes can see the "ballet of umbrellas", with its message of racial equality. One of the leading geneticists of the USSR, Nikolai Dubinin, recently wrote: "It can be said that today half of mankind is a product of racial mixture. In a few centuries whole populations of mixed races have been born on every continent. Ever since the discovery of the New World by Columbus, a process of racial mixture has been going on that has been growing and expanding steadily, with the result that an amalgamation of races has taken place, tending to create one single, gigantic population. The rate of racial mixture of whites and blacks in North America, for instance, was studied by two American scientists, B. Glass and C. Li, in 1966. They found that today, three and a half centuries after the arrival of the Negroes in the New World, one third (30 % of their genotype is made up of white genes. The speed with which this process is going on indicates that, even if we assume that prejudice against interracial marriages will not have totally disappeared whites and blacks will be united as one single population in 75 generations or 2,000 years from today. That is, complete genetic equilibrium will have been achieved by then."

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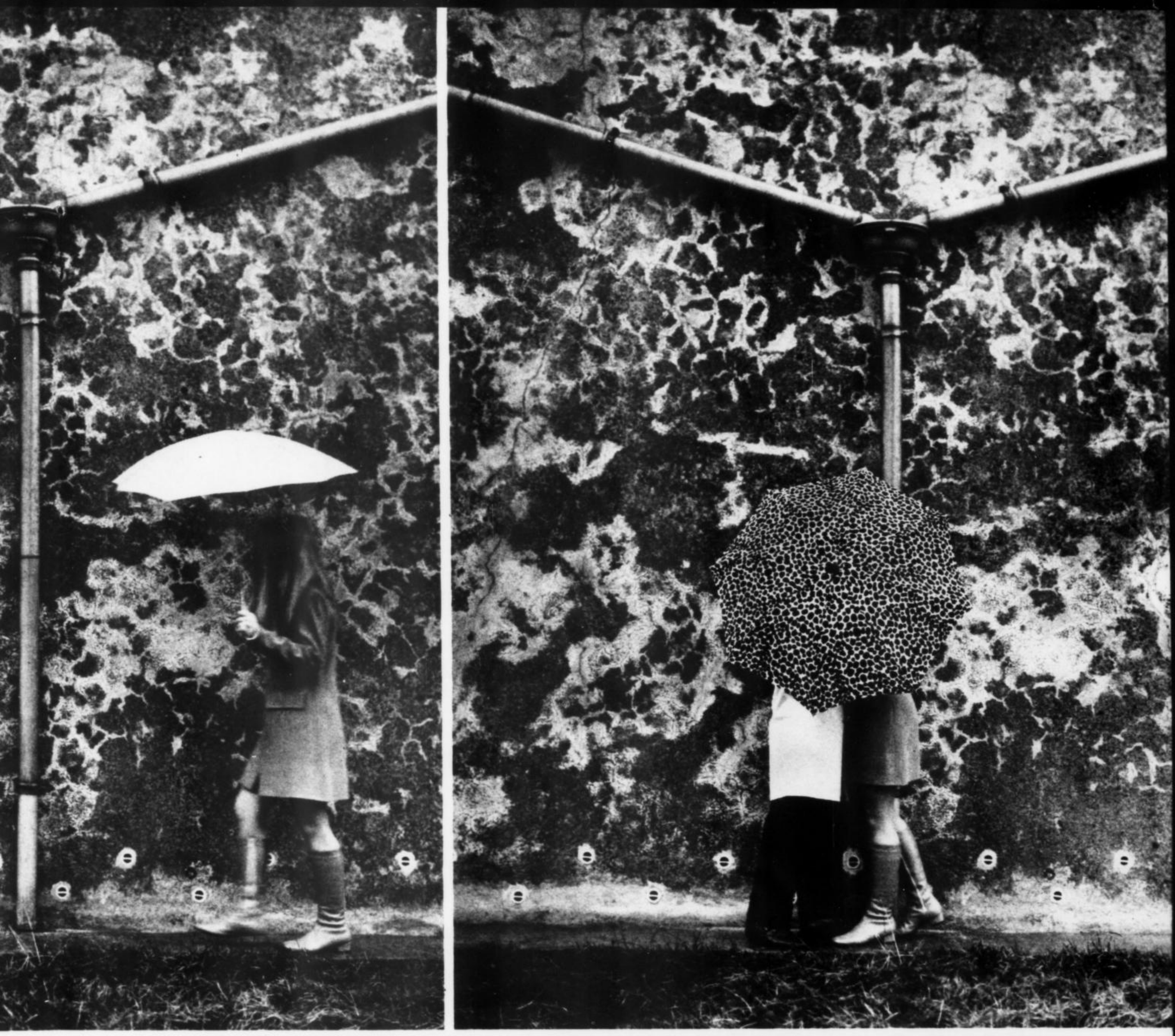

Photos © Marc Paygnard, Longwy, France

# THE OTHER PERSON'S SKIN

***by Mohamed Awad***

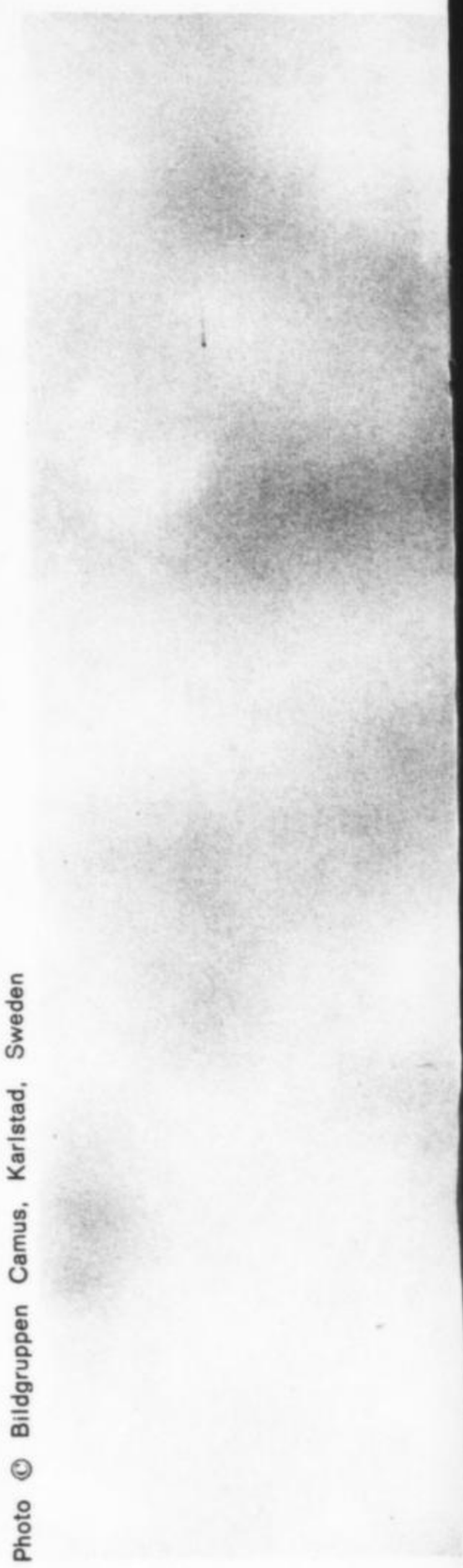

Photo © Bildgruppen Camus, Karlstad, Sweden

A well-known Arab poet, Mutanabbi by name, was fond of mixing his poetry with a dash of philosophy; and in one of his poems, it occurred to him to touch on the question of the colour of the skin. He asks:

> How is it that the sun darkens our [complexion
> And yet fails to darken our white [hair?
> Surely the two cases are one and [the same,
> If there is any justice in the world!

Mutanabbi's subject in this poem is not the colour of the human skin and the factors that influence it. He is merely telling us about his flight from Egypt to Iraq, across the wilderness of Sinai and the deserts of northern Arabia. It was by no means a comfortable trip, for the rays of the sun are extremely strong at all times of the year.

Mutanabbi employed good camels, brought specially from the land of the Beja in the Sudan. He travelled fast, because he wanted to reach Baghdad as soon as possible, and this obliged him to travel both by night and by day, exposing his skin to the scorching and merciless rays of the sun.

Once settled in Baghdad he could see that his skin was considerably darker, while the hair of his head and beard had become whiter. We should note that white hair was a favourite theme in Arabic poetry, so it would be perfectly natural for Mutanabbi to refer in his poem to the contrast between the two phenomena: the skin that darkens and the white hair that fails to get dark.

Mutanabbi lived over a thousand years ago. Had he been living these days, his philosophy touching the human skin would have been of a different kind. He would have wondered how it came about that fair complexions should now, at great pain and expense, be exposed quite unnecessarily to the rays of the sun, in order that they might acquire the darkest possible shade.

And not only do those fair complexions migrate to the sea-shore, to the high mountains, to the desert retreats of Arizona and Mexico, in search of the dark tinge; in addition, great factories are built for the production of liquids and oils and creams, which can be bought from chemists and drugstores all over the world, to help promote the process of soothing and darkening and browning the fair skin. It should then be a source of happiness to admire a beautiful dark-complexion, especially in these days when fashion dictates that considerable anatomy must be publicly displayed.

Mutanabbi would surely have expressed himself in a rather different philosophical vein regarding dark skin nowadays, when both Physics and Chemistry have combined to produce dark-brown shades, against which nobody has any colour prejudice.

It was near the end of World War II,

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**MOHAMED AWAD,** *of the Arab Republic of Egypt, is a distinguished educator, authority on social questions, geographer, poet and translator of literature. He was a member of the U.N. Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (chairman in 1957 and 1958) and as Special Rapporteur, prepared the U.N. Report on Slavery published in 1966. Dr. Awad was Egypt's Minister of National Education in 1955 and President of Alexandria University. In 1960-62, he was president of the Unesco Executive Board and in 1964 Vice-Chairman of the Unesco General Conference.*

that the present writer faced the question of skin-colour, when, in April, 1945, he came to the United States of America with the Egyptian Delegation, on its way to the San Francisco Conference. This was the famous conference which was to draw up the Charter of the United Nations, the charter that was to declare in its opening articles that there should be no differentiation of treatment, based on language, race, colour, religion, etc.

While we were still in our plane, approaching the United States, we were each handed by the US Immigration Administration a large sheet of paper, which carried a number of questions which we were required to answer faithfully and truthfully. While most of the questions were easily disposed of, there was one that really stumped me: it asked what was one's race.

Although I was once told that in the U.S.A. I should be asked about my race, I did not take the remark seriously. Now on entering the States I realized that this was no joke; and I had to give an honest answer to an official question.

It must be admitted that in spite my geographical studies, which included a lot of anthropology, it was by no means easy for me to say to what race I belonged. The human species to which I presumably belong, was evolved on the face of this planet, probably somewhere in the south west of Asia. There, according to the most accepted theory, Adam and Eve got married, and began to produce an enormous lot of offspring.

These offspring did not remain in their original home, but kept on wandering and multiplying and migrating from place to place. The wanderings must have lasted approximately a million years, in the course of which the human species was busy making new races, either by intermarriage or by other means.

The number of these races must be very large. The U.S. Immigration Office wanted to know to which of them I belonged; or else, presumably, I would be refused participation in writing the Charter of the United Nations. Obviously I was in a predicament from which I must try to extricate myself.

The U.S. Immigration Office probably knew that I should not find the question an easy one to answer. So they tried to help the candidate to supply the required information, by suggesting that one should write that one's race was either white or coloured. But this did not make the question any easier. I did not know how coloured I was. In the end I decided to try to be scientific and I wrote against race: "Mediterranean", and handed the form to the representative of the U.S. Immigration Office. He did not even look at it.

I must inform the prospective visitor to the U.S.A. that this difficulty no longer exists, and one is not now asked that difficult question.

The reason why I relate my early experience at some length is that it included a profound error, in stipulating that one's race can be only described as either white or coloured. Scientifically speaking there is no human being who is not coloured to some extent. Even the fairest skin in the northern latitudes cannot be described as without colour.

Skin colour differs in quantity but not in quality. It is the result of the presence of a huge number of microscopic glands under the skin, which produce a pigment, that protects the

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

# The right to be different

sensitive parts under the skin from injurious rays. In countries where the sun shines with great vigour, those glands become more active; the pigment produced is more substantial and the colour of the skin appears much darker. The environment is thus the decisive factor in giving the skin the colour it needs.

In the northern climates, in the lands surrounding the Baltic and the North Sea, the rays of the sun are seldom strong, and the production of pigment is minimal. Here is the home of the Nordic Race, with its clear skin, blue eyes, and fair hair. Their glands produce all the pigment that is necessary for the climate; and should they emigrate to a much more sunny and warm climate, their skin hurts, and they have to apply more creams and ointments and wear dark glasses for additional protection. As we move from the northern latitudes towards the Equator we begin to encounter darker skin and eyes and hair.

It may be asked what happens to the person who cannot produce any protective pigment. This does occur in some persons whose glands do not function. Their skin has usually a sickly white appearence. They are known as Albinos; and their condition is lamentable. Albinism is the name of their disease and it may occur among animals as well as among humans. Fortunately, it is not very common.

To distinguish people according to their colour is an old custom. One of the painted pictures left by the Ancient Egyptians denotes the kind of people known to them about three or four thousand years ago, and shows four different faces. One depicts an Egyptian, whose colour is reddish; another has a rather dark skin-colour and is meant to be a Nubian; a third has yellowish skin to denote a Syrian, and the fourth, representing a Libyan, has a fair skin and blue eyes. There is no indication that one colour is superior to another. The picture simply represented the peoples with whom the Egyptians were most familiar. In other words, there was no idea of what we now call colour prejudice.

Similar pictures of classical times represent the captured slaves from the Northern plains; their colour was much fairer than that of their Roman masters.

When we come to modern times we witness examples of what must be considered colour prejudice. It is not necessary to trace the history of the phenomenon. The essential thing to note is that it exists in several parts of the world, assumes different forms, and has produced different results.

Colour prejudice consists essentially of a feeling that individuals with a certain skin colour are inferior. Usually the persons considered inferior are those with a dark or deep brown skin, and they are considered inferior by individuals whose skin is fair. In other words persons with little skin pigment consider themselves superior to those whose skin carries a lot of pigment. For the sake of easy expression, we mostly call the former "white" and the latter "black".

The blacks living in a certain neighbourhood would not quit their homes if a white family came to settle there, nor would they leave a hotel, if a white man came to stay there for a night or two. Both cases are fairly common where the newcomer is black.

Many urban districts have been abandoned by their white occupants as soon as a few black families came to live there. These black families may be culturally or materially well off; but this will not affect the result. The neighbourhood soon becomes a black man's environment.

SOME countries have attempted, with a certain measure of success, to combat this segregation, particularly in the schools maintained by the State, and even in some institutes of higher learning. In social circumstances, however, little progress has been achieved. People will still live in districts whose inhabitants carry the same amount of pigment, and intermarriage is usually frowned upon.

One may be permitted to say, in passing, that the policy of desegregation deliberately followed by the U.S. Government is still in its early stages, and is bound to achieve greater results in course of time. Already the U.S. has Negro millionaires, and there are a particularly large number of sports champions and Negro artists who are held in the greatest esteem at home and abroad, irrespective of the amount of pigment in their skin.

There are, unfortunately, communities which have carried colour prejudice to the extreme limit. No account of racial prejudice is complete without reference to the miserable conditions which obtain in the Republic of South Africa, where colour prejudice has been responsible for the misery of about fifteen million people, and where it has been designated by a special name: Apartheid.

South Africa is the only country in the world that proclaims the inequality of its citizens in its laws. The South Africa Act, 1961, declares that only white persons may become members of the all-powerful parliament. Though an Afrikaans word, meaning separateness, apartheid has come to mean a policy of the State, based on racial segregation and racial discrimination and pursued in a most rigorous and brutal manner by a minority of whites against the large majority of Africans, coloureds and Asians. In order to pursue such a policy, a cruel regime has been established, supported by a police state and the most cruel "legal" machinery imaginable.

For the public, the literature is fairly simple: Signs reading "Whites only" "Non-whites only." These signs are on poles standing in playgrounds, parks and beaches; they are painted on benches, stencilled on telephone boxes and nailed over sports fields, concert halls, post offices and railway stations.

No place is too lowly for them —the urinals are strictly segregated— and no complication is too great: at new stations separate counters are provided for white luggage, for non-white luggage, and for white luggage to be fetched by non-white persons.

The colour bar applies to sex, with policemen shining their torches through windows to catch white and black in forbidden embraces (Immorality Act). It applies to disaster, with white ambulances being prevented from carrying non-white casualties (Hospital Board Regulations); and it applies to death, with burial grounds racially zoned to ensure that the bodies remain as divided in death as they were in life (Group Areas Act).

Such are the conditions in the Republic of South Africa, where colour prejudice exists at its worst. Little wonder that the regime in South Africa is only recognized by some twenty countries, and it is difficult to imagine that such a regime can survive for very long.

In conclusion, I would hope that the different examples of the problem of skin colour have helped to show that while the properties of colour are mostly the result of natural factors, colour prejudice is definitely not natural. ■

KUWAIT

ALGERIA

NIGERIA

LAOS

PAKISTAN

NIGER

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

VATICAN

GUYANA

REP. OF MALDIVES

DEM. REP. CONGO

ETHIOPIA

YEMEN

TUNISIA

ALBANIA

KHMER REP.

REPUBLIQUE FEDERALE DU CAMEROUN
REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON
20F
POSTES
1971-ANNEE INTERNATIONALE DE LA LUTTE CONTRE LE RACISME ET LA DISCRIMINATION RACIALE

CAMEROON




CHAD

SENEGAL

URUGUAY

# STAMPS AGAINST RACISM

Over 40 countries have issued stamps to mark International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Prejudice. Here we present a selection of the stamps featured in this world-wide campaign. Left, a United Nations commemorative stamp on the theme "eliminate racial discrimination"— one of four issued (two in New York and two in Geneva) on September 21.

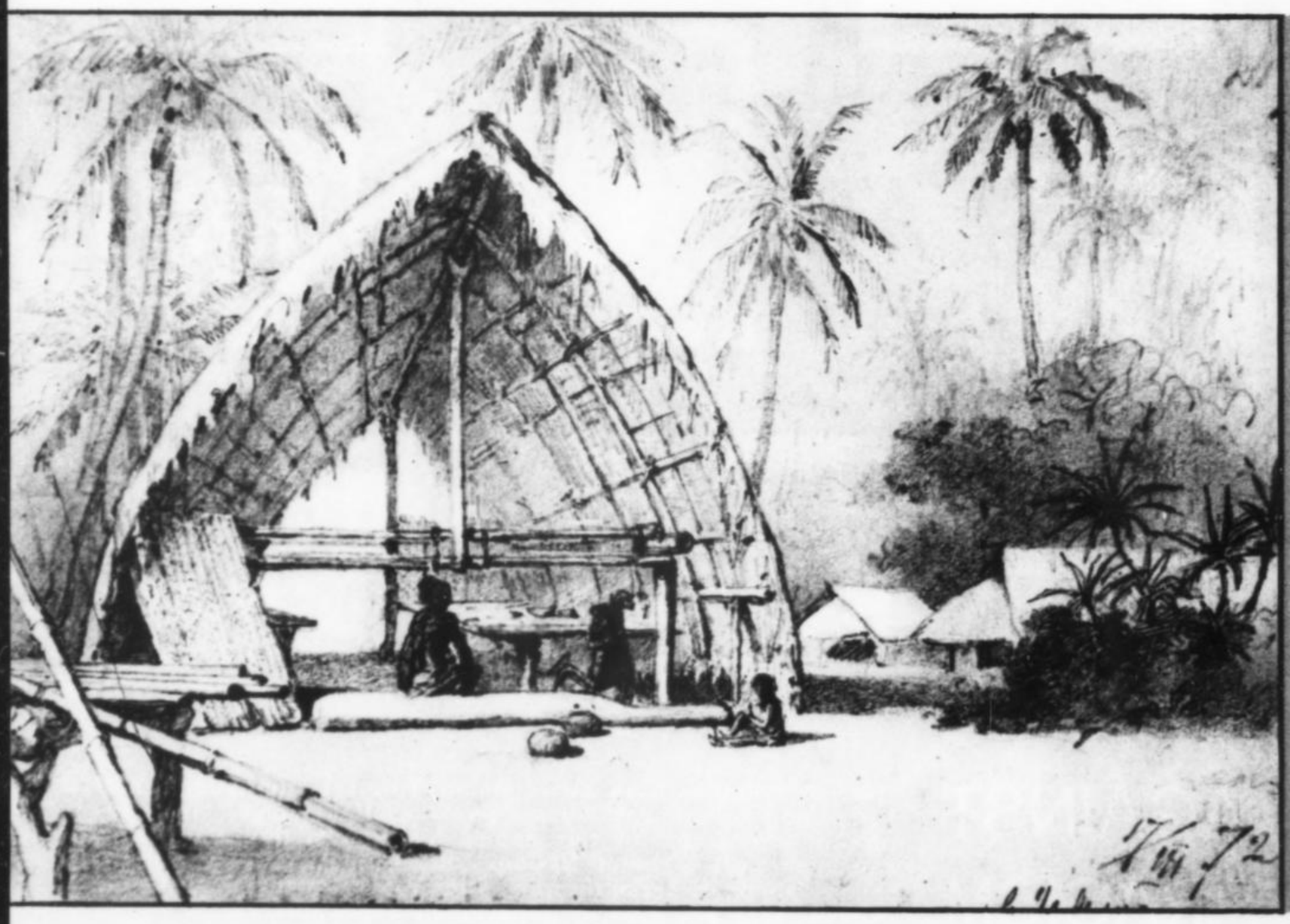
XUM

# A 19th CENTURY CHAMPION OF ANTI-RACISM IN NEW GUINEA


***by Nikolai A. Butinov***

of the N.N. Miklukho-Maklai
Ethnographic Institute
U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences


***Exactly 100 years ago, a young Russian scientist, Nikolai Miklukho-Maklai (above), landed on the coast of north-eastern New Guinea, the world's second largest island. He was to make five expeditions in all to this "terra incognita", where he pioneered anthropological studies and became an active defender of the Papuans and their independence (see article opposite). In his thinking on racial questions, particularly his rejection of the myth of racial superiority, he was ahead of his times. Below and on the following pages we publish passages from his diaries, correspondence and other papers.***



## Papuan diary and sketchbook

**Left, a village meeting house for men at Bongu, Maklai Shore, New Guinea, sketched by Miklukho-Maklai. Right, portrait-sketch of a Papuan from Bili-Bili island.**


Photos © APN - Miklukho-Maklai Ethnographic Institute, Leningrad

IN September 1871, the Russian corvette "Vityaz" dropped anchor in Astrolabe Bay in New Guinea, and a young Russian natural scientist by the name of Nikolai N. Miklukho-Maklai went ashore. To this day, the place carries the name Maklai Shore.

I ask the reader to take himself back 100 years, when many scientists were devoting their efforts to finding evidence to substantiate Darwin's theory of the evolution of man from the ape-like predecessors. Scientists travelled to the deepest, darkest corners of the earth in an attempt to find a living, rather than fossilized, specimen intermediate between man and his predecessors.

The "Jena heretic", Ernst Haeckel, one of Darwin's most ardent followers, felt the Papuans of New Guinea represented this missing link. Guided by superficial observations made by navigators from aboard ship that the body hair of the Papuans grew in tufts, he categorized them as a "tuft-haired" race.

After attending his lectures at Jena University, Nikolai Miklukho-Maklai found himself in disagreement with Haeckel on this question. He saw the danger of the possible racialist conclusions that could be drawn from the allegations about a "tuft-haired" race. This played no small role in his deciding to devote several years to studying the life of primitive peoples.

Convinced that an adequate study of the Papuans could be made only at first hand, Miklukho-Maklai set sail for New Guinea. He settled among the "tuft-haired" people and began conducting anthropological research.

This is all now part of history, but 100 years ago it was a major achievement. Every day among the Papuans brought new discoveries, but many were the days when his life hung upon a thread.

To avoid the loss of the results of his research he showed the Russian officers who escorted him to the island, where he would bury his notes "so that if I should not survive, my manuscripts, in cylinders, would be unearthed and sent to the Russian Geographical Society."

Fortunately, Miklukho-Maklai did survive, although his health was seriously impaired because of the climatic conditions, so difficult for him, a European, to adjust to. He was able to win the confidence of the Papuans, learn the Bongu language, collect unique ethnographic and anthropological specimens, and make important advances in scientific research.

Miklukho-Maklai made five separate voyages to New Guinea: three to Maklai Shore, where he lived a total of two years and eight months, one to the northwest shore and one to the southeast shore of the peninsula. He travelled twice to the islands of Melanesia and Micronesia, visited some Polynesian islands, made two difficult and dangerous expeditions into the depths of the Malacca peninsula, visited the Philippine islands, and lived a long while in Australia.

The Russian scientist's articles, diaries, sketches and collections, especially those connected with his stay on Maklai Shore, constitute a golden treasure of world ethnographic science. Modern researchers studying the culture and life of the Papuans of New Guinea still refer to the works of Miklukho-Maklai. "How rich the culture of the tribes of Tangu may have been can be imagined from the drawings and sketches of Miklukho-Maklai," wrote, for instance, the well-known English scholar, K.O.L. Burridge.

Miklukho-Maklai pioneered the ethnographic and anthropological study of New Guinea. He staunchly defended the concept of mankind as a single species: the Oceanians were retarded in their cultural development by virtue of a number of historical causes, but in their intellectual and moral qualities they were not at all inferior to Europeans. Miklukho-Maklai not only subjected racialism to scientifically valid criticism, but became an active fighter for the freedom and independence of those peoples.

His feat is a brilliant example of selfless service to science. But besides the purely scientific side of Miklukho-Maklai's feat, there is yet another—the humanitarian side—which the great Russian novelist Leo Tolstoy noted and considered of primary importance.

He wrote to Miklukho-Maklai "As far as I know, you are the first to prove indubitably by experience that man is the same everywhere, that is, a decent, social being, with whom intercourse should be entered into with kindness and truth, and not with cannons and vodka..." ■

***From a report of his travels to the Russian Geographical Society St. Petersburg, 1882***

**WHEN, in November 1877, I finally decided to return to Singapore on an English schooner that chanced to pass by, I sent a message to all villages that two people from each should appear before me—the oldest and the youngest. However, more than two persons from each village came to me, so it was a large crowd that gathered near my hut. I told them that I was leaving them, probably for a long time. They very much regretted my departing.**

**I then explained to them that there would probably be other people, also white like myself, with the same kind of hair and in the same kind of clothing, coming to them on the same kind of ships as I arrived on, but that it was most likely that they would be people completely different from Maklai. I considered it my duty to warn the natives about that class of traders who to this day make the islands of the Pacific Ocean a place of very sad events.**

**To this day, you meet with so-called "kidnappings", that is, the abduction of people into slavery by various means... I anticipated that the same thing could happen on New Guinea that happened on the Melanesian islands (the Solomons, New Hebrides, etc.), where the populations decreased markedly due to slavery.**

**Therefore, feeling that Maklai Shore would also in time be visited by the slave traders, I considered it my duty to warn the Papuans and explain to them that although they might see the same kind of ships and the same kind of people as Maklai, these people could carry them away into bondage. This warning filled them with consternation, and they tried to persuade me to stay.**

# The 'tuft-hair' of the Papuans

*From his diary (January 3, 1872)*
*Maklai Shore, New Guinae*

FOR a long time now, it has seemed to me an incorrect proposition that the hair of the Papuans grows in tufts or "bunches". But the huge "wigs" of my neighbours have not permitted me to clearly ascertain just how the hair is distributed. In observing the distribution of hair on the temples, crown and nape of the neck of adults, I was able to note that there was no special grouping of the hairs in tufts, but so far I have not had occasion to see a shortly-cropped head of hair among the natives.

... I soon fell asleep... Through my sleep, I heard voices calling me and, seeing the callers, I immediately jumped up. It was Kolle from Bongu with a nine year-old boy who was very closely cropped. I examined his head with great interest and attention and even made drawings of what seemed to be the most important. I was convinced of the fact that the hair of the Papuans grows not in bunches or tufts as is written in many anthropological textbooks, but exactly the same as ours.

Sketch of a Papuan named "Boge"
by Miklukho-Maklai, 1872

# Reflections on the fate of the aborigines

*From a letter to his friend A.A. Meschersky*
*(later Secretary of the*
*Russian Geographical Society)*
*Maklai Shore, New Guinea, October-November 1877*

REFLECTIONS about the fate of the aborigines to whom I have become so attached often occurred and always led to the same question: would I be doing the natives a service if I facilitated access to their country by Europeans through my knowledge of this country, its customs and language.

The more I thought about it, the more I was inclined to a negative answer. Sometimes I put the question the other way: looking at the incursion of the whites as an unavoidable eventuality, I then asked myself: whom should I help—to whom should I give the advantage—the missionaries or the traders?

The answer was always—neither one nor the other, since the former, unfortunately often and under disguise, actually engage in the activities of the latter, paving the way for them. I therefore decided that in no way, either directly or indirectly, will I promote the establishment of relations between the whites and the Papuans.

Arguments that the dark races, being lower and weaker, must give way to the higher and stronger white variety, seem to me to constantly demand more and more proof. In accepting this proposition and advocating the destruction of the dark races by arms and disease, the next logical step is to suggest that those among the whites who do not fit a given ideal of a member of the chosen white race should also be picked out and destroyed.

Logically, a further conclusion would be to consider various hospitals, orphanages and alms-houses to be unnecessary and even harmful, and to advocate a law that every newborn baby who does not reach a certain length and weight should be removed, etc.

When, on the other hand, with the aid of impartial observation, one arrives at the conclusion that the different parts of the earth with their various conditions of living cannot be populated by a single group of the species homo with identical organizations, qualities and abilities, and when one realizes therefore that the existence of various races is completely consistent with the laws of nature, one must then recognize that the members of these races are entitled to universal human rights, and must agree that the destruction of the dark races is nothing other than the use of brute force, which every honest person should oppose...

# 'I have decided to defend their just cause'

*From a letter to A.A. Meschersky*
*The Pacific Ocean (March 17, 1876)*

I LEFT New Guinea in December 1872, despite the persistent appeals of the natives that I remain with them; but I promised them I would return when I knew that my coming could be of benefit to them.

Recently, because an incursion of European colonization, with all its dangers to the natives, has been threatening my black friends, I have felt that the time has come for me to fulfill my promise, which I must and want to keep, despite the fact that this decision will tear me away for a time from purely scientific work.

At the present moment I am en route to Maklai Shore, where I plan to settle with the aim, in accordance with my promise, of trying as best I can to be of help to the natives, that is, to do as much as possible to prevent the collision between European colonization and the black population from having any disastrous consequences for the latter (as happened in Tasmania, continues in Australia, and will most likely happen on the Fiji Islands).

I hope that the opinion of all honest and fair people will prove sufficient patronage and protection for my cause against the illegal claims of governments and against the unjust and violent deeds of various European exploiters and those who seek enrichment and personal profit by any and all possible ways and means.

If, despite all my endeavours, my efforts turn out to be in vain, then perhaps the scientific research and study in this already familiar country will compensate for my sacrifices of time, health and money; if not, the knowledge that I kept my word will be sufficient reward.

I would hope that my friends know me well enough not to consider my decision to be a frivolous act and will maintain their former friendship and sympathy for me, knowing that regardless of anything, I am keeping my word and returning to New Guinea, not only as a naturalist, but also as a "protector" of my black friends of Maklai Shore, and that I have decided to defend as much as I am able their just cause: their independence in the event of European incursion (which would have inevitable fatal consequences for the natives), although I realize that their cause is a matter of the weak against the strong!

# Might is not right

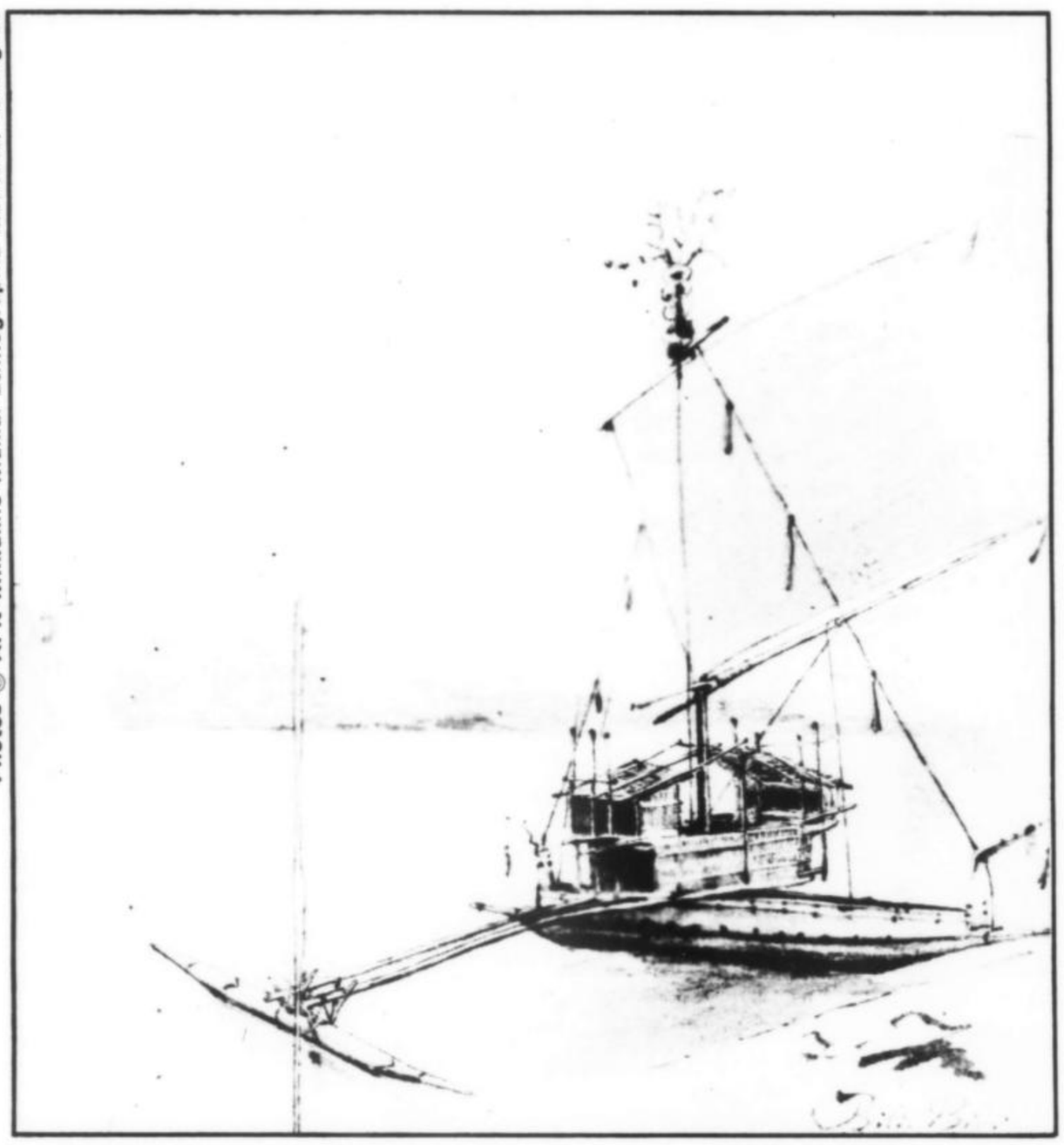
*From a letter to Sir Arthur Hamilton*
*Governor of Fiji and High Commissioner*
*of the Western Pacific*
*Sydney, Australia, (January 23, 1879)*

BY the exercise of patience and by dint of fair and very friendly behaviour, I have finally succeeded in gaining the full confidence of the natives, who at first, and for several months, were far from friendly.

After learning the Papuan language, I have been able to study their ways and customs. Having spent nearly three years among these people and having had the time to assess their character and capabilities, I feel a deep and disinterested concern for their future, especially since I foresee that an invasion of New Guinea by white men could easily, indeed almost certainly would spark off a chain of catastrophic and regrettable events.

However, I am sure that many of these repugnant injustices committed by the strong upon the weak could be avoided if the governments of the civilized world, respecting the precepts of justice, would confirm and enforce the elementary principles of the law of nations and of international law.

Photos © APN-Miklukho-Maklai Ethnographic Institute, Leningrad



Outrigger boat at Bili-Bili island, drawn by Miklukho-Maklai, 1872

# Telegram to Bismarck

*January 9, 1885*

THE NATIVES OF MAKLAI SHORE REJECT GERMAN ANNEXATION
— MAKLAI

# Letter from Tolstoy

*September 25, 1886*

DEAR Nikolai Nikolayevich, thank-you very much for sending your brochures. I was very pleased to read them and found in them much of interest. What moves me and arouses my admiration is that, as far as I know, you are the first to prove indubitably by experience that man is the same everywhere, that is, a decent social being, with whom intercourse should be entered into with kindness and truth, and not with cannons and vodka. And you proved this by a feat of genuine courage which is so rarely met with in our society that the people of our society do not even understand it.

Your case seems to be as follows: people have lived for so long under the deception of violence that both the oppressors and the oppressed have come to believe that this abnormal relationship among peoples, not only among cannibals and non-Christians, but even among Christians, is actually normal.

Then, suddenly, one man, under the pretext of scientific investigation (please excuse me for this frank expression of my belief) goes alone among the most fearsome savages with neither gun nor bayonet, but armed with reason alone, and proves that all the outrageous violence by which we live in this world is only old, outlived humbug, from which people who wish to live rationally should have been freed long ago.

This is what is so touching and admirable to me in your work, and why I so desire to see you and enter into communication with you.

Please let me tell you the following: even if your collections are very important, more important than anything that had been thus far collected from anywhere in the world, then, even in that case, all of your collections and all your scientific observations are as nothing compared with those observations of human characteristics which you made while you lived among the natives, communicated with them, and influenced them by reason alone.

And, therefore, for the love of all that is holy, set down in the greatest detail and with the strict adherence to truth which is characteristic of you, all of the person-to-person relationships you established among those people.

I do not know what contribution your collections and discoveries will make to the branch of science which you serve, but your experience among the natives is epoch-making in the science which I serve, namely the science of how people should live with one another. Write that story and you will perform a great and good service to all mankind.

# Learning the three T's in school

*by Ali. A. Mazrui*

CONFRONTED with a world of tense relations between racial and ethnic groups, what can the school do to reduce and eliminate such tensions? How can societies use their educational systems to improve the quality of inter-group relations among the coming generations?

Inter-group relations vary significantly from one country to another, and techniques for resolving group tensions have, to some extent, to be related to the special features of the country concerned.

The division which cannot, for the time being, be escaped is the one between the white world and the coloured world, between white children and coloured children and the particular problems which have to be faced if the quality of their mental images of each other is to be improved.

If we were considering education in an exclusively white country, the emphasis in educational reform might have to be towards promoting greater tolerance of alien cultures and alien groups. But if we were concerned with education in an exclusively black country, we might have to contend not with the problem of intolerance, but with the problem of the dependency complex.

The educational system in an African country might need to handle the crisis of a sense of psychological inadequacy, sometimes seen in the indiscriminate imitation of western culture, and sometimes in aggressive hostility towards that culture. Both cultural aggression in the black man and cultural imitation could be symptoms of an inner dependency complex, still struggling to find ways of self-liquidation.

But what about a country which is racially mixed? There are times when equal attention might need to be paid both to promoting greater tolerance in white children and to overcoming dependency in coloured children. But since racially mixed societies are not all at the same stage of integration, the relative sizes of the problems might vary considerably.

As a generalization, we might say that the central problem in South Africa for the time being is not so much black dependence, as white arrogance. If we were hoping to see educational reforms in South Africa, the first emphasis might be towards transforming the attitudes of the white children in the direction of greater tolerance and understanding of groups other than their own. The problem of the dependency complex in black children, though certainly very much there, is for the time being secondary in a society whose stratification arises purely from the racial assertiveness of the whites.

But a look at American society reveals a different emphasis. There is indeed still the lingering problem of white arrogance as an aspect of the American racial scene. On the black side there are two problems—the residual dependency problem and the problem of loss of identity.

The residual dependency problem may be manifested in "Uncle Toms", people who are taken or mistaken to be blind imitators of western or Anglo-Saxon norms, and who feel uneasy about being abandoned by the Anglo-Saxon world. But the dependency phenomenon in the United States may take more subtle forms than that of blatant imitation, it may sometimes lead to aggressive reaction to what is taken to be white abandonment of the black man.

What challenges do these inter-ethnic and inter-racial problems pose for educational systems? One point which needs to be grasped immediately is that the problem of relations between races has points in common with problems of relations between religious denominations, as in Ireland or between tribal groups, as in Kenya and Uganda. The educational implications of plural societies may be strikingly similar, regardless of whether the plurality derives from racial, religious, or ethno-cultural differences

On close examination it may well turn out that there are at least three politically significant values which can be inculcated by the educational system, regardless of the nature of the society, and indeed regardless of the regime in power. We might call these values "The Three T's of Training in Nationhood". The T's I have in mind are first, Tolerance, second, Toil, and third, Teamwork. They are themselves to be seen as supplementary perhaps to the three R's of basic education —Reading, Writing and Arithmetic.

BY "Tolerance" I do not mean the promotion of a sense of "brotherhood". The idea of human brotherhood is a religious idea, and people respond to it more positively when they are listening to a sermon in a church than in their day-to-day lives. It is just not realistic enough to expect people who are otherwise rivals and strongly in competition, and have no connexion of any kind with each other in blood or cultural affinity, to regard each other as brothers nevertheless.

Even the Christian imperative of "love thy neighbour" is a tall order. Even a literal neighbour may be quite demanding—if he plays his gramophone too loud at night, or if his children are noisy and boisterous.

The critical issue for a society is not how much brotherhood there is, but how much tolerance. There is no special credit in being favourably disposed towards your own brother. The real test comes when, in spite of being unable to regard a stranger as

CONTINUED PAGE 30

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Photo © Holmes-Lebel, Paris

The Masai, a pastoral people who range along the great Rift Valley of Kenya and Tanganyika (Tanzania), have preserved many ancient customs including that of blood brotherhood. Above, a young Masai girl prepares a white boy for a "brotherhood" ceremony. She took a liking to him because his hair is cut as short as that of Masai girls. Children are not born with racial prejudice; they learn it as they grow up. And ignorance of other peoples and their cultures creates the false beliefs and stereotypes from which racial prejudice develops.

# Tolerance, toil and teamwork

your brother, you still tolerate his unusual and idiosyncratic ways.

Our societies need, above all, the capacity to tolerate people of different cultural backgrounds, or different regions or identities, or different political views. Our societies need to be guided not necessarily by the values of liberalism in their totality, such as individualism, nor indeed by the institutions of liberalism, such as certain types of parliaments and certain types of multi-party systems.

But our societies do need to be governed by the liberal rules of the game—the rules which simply say "Live and let live". The liberal rules of the game permit competing viewpoints and competing interpretations of reality to survive together. The liberal rules of the game prescribe toleration of differences and of pluralism.

Tolerance is, in fact, the most difficult of these three values to inculcate in children. Children are notoriously intolerant at times, and can be painfully and brutally cruel. The question of what kind of approach should be adopted to foster and build-up their capacity to tolerate others is perhaps one of the most important and yet intractable problems in the whole field of child education.

But, at the level of intellectual tolerance, there is a good deal to be said for a system of education which puts a special premium on debating as an activity. The idea of getting schoolchildren to debate amongst themselves on a variety of fundamental issues has great potential as a teaching device to promote tolerance of differing viewpoints. The training here springs from exposure to radically polarized viewpoints.

The debates should take place several times a term, instead of once or twice a year. By all means combine these debates with the idea of inviting controversial speakers to address current affairs societies, and answer student challenges and expostulations, but controversial speakers should supplement confrontations between students themselves over intellectual issues.

Debating becomes a useful technique in a situation of fluid values, partly because it helps to sharpen the faculties of deciding between different values, and gradually developing a sophisticated evaluation of different alternatives. Debating is also a critical training in the art of toleration.

The imperative of Toil, like the other two T's, is subject to cultural variations. Attitude to work is conditioned by those cultural factors. President Nyerere in Tanzania has claimed that in traditional Africa everyone was a worker—"a worker" not just as distinct from "employer" but also as distinct from "loiterer" or "idler".

Nyerere sees work in traditional Africa as a factor balancing African hospitality. The tradition of hospitality and support for one's kinsmen could all too easily result in parasitism. The obligation to work is the safety valve against excessive hospitality. As Nyerere put it:

"Those who talk about the African way of life, and quite rightly take pride in maintaining a tradition of hospitality which is so great a part of it, might do well to remember the Swahili saying "*Mgeni siku mbili; siku ya tatu mpe jembe*" or in English: "Treat your guest as a guest for two days; on the third day, give him a hoe."

The incentives to work in traditional Africa were often in the following order: first, the need to meet the individual's own basic needs and those of his immediate family; secondly, the individual's contribution to the welfare of neighbours and kinsmen if this is customarily expected; and only thirdly, the individual's interest in accumulating more things for himself and aspiring to self-improvement as distinct from self-maintenance.

THE ordering of priorities is quite significant. It is not correct that the traditional African subordinated his own basic needs to those of his community. His own basic needs came first, the needs of his community and kinsmen came second, and the need for personal improvement came third.

The incentive to hard work varied accordingly. Working for personal maintenance made good sense; working hard to meet one's normal or customary obligations to one's kinsmen also made sense; but working hard for some undefined target of self-improvement was, in many cases, less clearly understood.

Perhaps educators could investigate ways of transmitting the ethic of work in a manner which attempts to reconcile working for society with working for one's own improvement. The very process of acquiring an education poses the dilemma as between education for effective citizenship as against education for personal ambition.

What should be remembered is that the harder it is to acquire an education, the more it will be regarded as a passport to a future life of leisure. Many African children walk long distances every day, and take heavy part-time work, in an endeavour to acquire an education. Because they have acquired their education the hard way, they tend to feel at the end of it that they have now "arrived" and deserve to rest. Thus the educated become, alas, an élite of leisure.

The third "T" of Training in Nationhood is the imperative of Teamwork. It is important that, at all levels of education, there should be opportunities for teamwork. These should range from encouragement of basketball and soccer to encouragement of student political societies and social organizations. The aim should be the promotion of national integration.

Africa is confronted with ethnic pluralism and cultural diversity. The interaction between different tribes could generate considerable stress and tension. The quest is for a system which would permit these groups not only to tolerate each other—which is the first pre-condition—but also to work with each other in pursuit of shared goals. And even when the groups are in competition, the competition itself should be subject to rules of fair play.

Some school games may be better suited for training in tolerance and teamwork than others. If so, which are which? Educational research could pay renewed attention to the study of sports and games, and their comparative efficacy as media of socialization and promotion of national values.

If certain games, as yet untried in African schools, are better for citizenship-training than those which are already popular, there is a compelling case for experimenting with the new games. In some situations the gymnasium may be a more effective school of values than an ideological institute can hope to be.

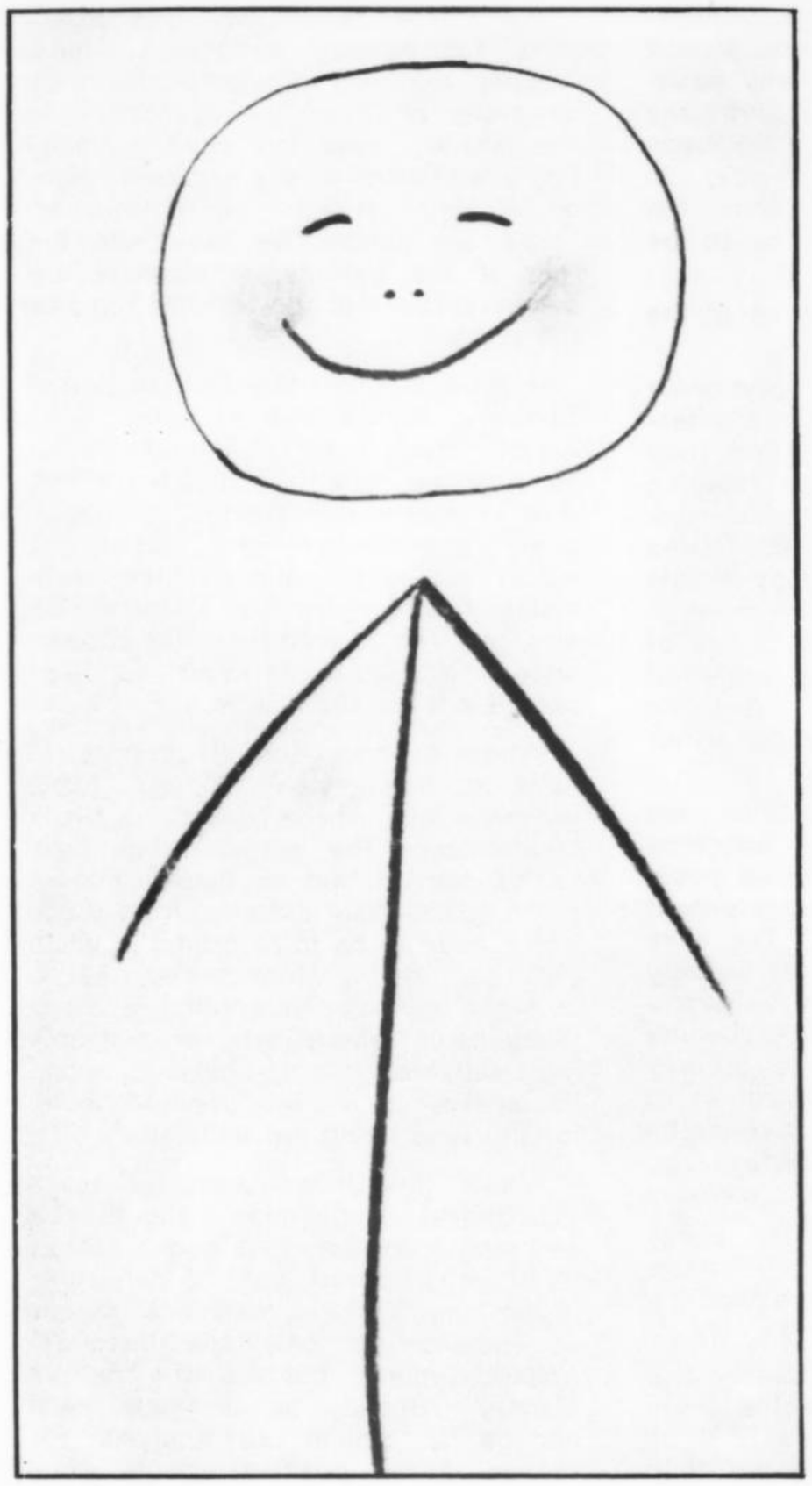
In countries which are both multi-ethnic and multi-religious, there should be a purposeful policy to ensure that each school not only mixes races and tribes but also mixes religions. The theory of cross-cutting loyalties as a mechanism for integration provides the basis for this recommendation.

If some black families are Catholic and some are Protestant, and some white families are Catholic and some are Protestant, integration in schools should not only aim to mix blacks with whites but also to mix, at the same time and in the same school, black Catholics with white Catholics and black Protestants with white Protestants.

The fact that these categories in such a school overlap and cut across each other would itself reduce the dangers of a neatly reinforced confrontation. On some issues white would gang up with white against a black opposition, but on others white Protestants would gang up with black Protestants against Catholic opposition. The fluidity of alliances afforded by criss-crossing pulls of this kind

CONTINUED PAGE 32

FIRST PRIZE



# WINNERS OF UNESCO'S POSTER CONTEST

**On this page we present the prizewinning entries of an international contest in which young artists (aged 15 to 25) were asked to design a poster illustrating the theme "A World Fit to Live in". The competition, to mark Unesco's 25th Anniversary, was organized by the International Association of Art (See the "Unesco Courier", April, 1971). Young artists from 45 Unesco member states submitted designs. An international jury of artists (from France, Argentina, U.S.A., Senegal, Japan and France) awarded the first prize ($500) to Kari Piippo, a graphic artist from Finland, whose design is shown above left. Five equal second prizes ($100) went to Roland Mahon of Eire (above right) and (below, from left to right) to Tran Van Huong (Rep. of Viet-Nam); André Hernandez (Cuba); Guy-Daniel Mocquet (France); Lech Majewski and Stanislas Trzeszczowski (Poland). Five honourable mentions went to: Yura Irmanova (Bulgaria); Gugliemo Pellizzoni (Italy); Sergio A. Perez (Mexico); Dramane Sibide (Mali) and Gunther Veichtlbauer (Austria). All international contestants will receive "Unesco Courier" subscriptions.**

would themselves be a step away from a petrified and rigid ethnic confrontation.

Another pre-condition for the promotion of inter-ethnic harmony is the application of the principle of cultural parity to the curriculum. Where groups have different cultural backgrounds it is imperative that the educational system should not betray too sharp an evaluation in favour of one cultural heritage as against another. The eruption of black studies in the United States is itself one indication of the quest for cultural parity in the educational system of that country.

But black studies have to be an intermediate measure, to restore balance, rather than a permanent innovation. After all, there are no "white studies" as a distinct area of academic pursuit in the United States. To single out black studies as a separate entity itself implies an absence of cultural parity. Full cultural parity would only be achieved when the educational system has integrated more coherently a respect for the black heritage fully integrated into one curriculum, instead of isolated as a separate esoteric preoccupation.

In Africa, cultural parity also requires important reforms in curricula and syllabuses. The inherited assumption that not enough African history has been recorded to be usable in school syllabuses has already been vigorously challenged. Courses in African history are provided increasingly, though the pace of Africanization of syllabuses has been considerably slower in former French Africa than in former British Africa.

The introduction of creative writing by Africans as part of the courses in literature is another innovation of the last few years. Books by African writers are being introduced with increasing emphasis in African schools.

Basically, in much of English-speaking Africa, there is a vigorous pursuit of cultural parity, though many educational reformers among Africans would argue that not enough has been achieved. Francophone Africa, in submissive dependency within the educational system, continues to be decisively Franco-centric.

Finally, there is the problem of the staffing of schools.

A situation where a disproportionate number of teachers belong to a different community from the students they teach has potentialities for creating either submissive dependency or aggressive dependency. In the United States, aggressive dependency among black children in schools has, from all accounts, been rising. In much of Africa the massive use of imported teachers continues to consolidate more submissive dependency rather than aggressive.

Two policy recommendations are particularly urgent. One concerns the headmaster. As rapidly as possible African secondary schools should have African headmasters. The case for African headmasters is particularly strong in those schools which have a disproportionate number of white teachers. A black headmaster, clearly active and in authority, helps to reduce the dangers of socializing the children into a persistent dependency orientation towards the white man.

As regards primary schools, unless it is desperately necessary, there should be no white teachers working in black primary schools.

One reason is that the primary age is a particularly impressionable stage in the socialization process. It is important that at this stage the child should be spared conditioning influences which would adversely affect his orientation towards the Western world.

But another reason why it is imperative for primary schools to have African teachers concerns the very structure of primary education. At the primary level the child normally has one teacher in any particular year, or at any rate one main teacher. There are continuities here with the role of the parents, emphasized by the very fact that the teacher remains the same.

In conditions like those of the United States a modification of policy is in order. Black schools should, as far as possible, aim for mixed staffing, with a black headmaster, conspicuously authoritative and active. It would not do to have a black headmaster mistaken for just a figurehead, an Uncle Tom placed there for appearances. His authority over his staff should not be too subtle.

White schools should attempt to have at least one or two black teachers and, where realistic, a black headmaster. The images which have to be transformed in black children are fundamentally different from those which need to be transformed in white children. It therefore makes sense in white schools to appoint a black headmaster where one is available and suitable; but to have a white headmaster in a black school should, for the time being, be avoided.

While the introduction of such educational techniques should be seriously considered, it ought always to be remembered that the school is, in the final analysis, only one agency of socialization, only one factor in helping young people to find an identity. Society as a whole must engage in similar self-analysis for reform if the positive effects of a rational educational system are not to be neutralised by countervailing influences from the social world beyond the classroom. ■

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## RACE AND I.Q. *(Continued from page 13)*

for the U.S. Office of Education, and published under the title *Equality of Educational Opportunity* in 1966.

When a pupil from a minority group living in "a home without much educational strength is put with schoolmates with strong educational backgrounds, his achievement is likely to increase". The effect is similar when those with "strong educational backgrounds" are black rather than white, but it is not surprising, in view of the whole history of the United States, that such favourable home backgrounds are found more often in the case of white children.

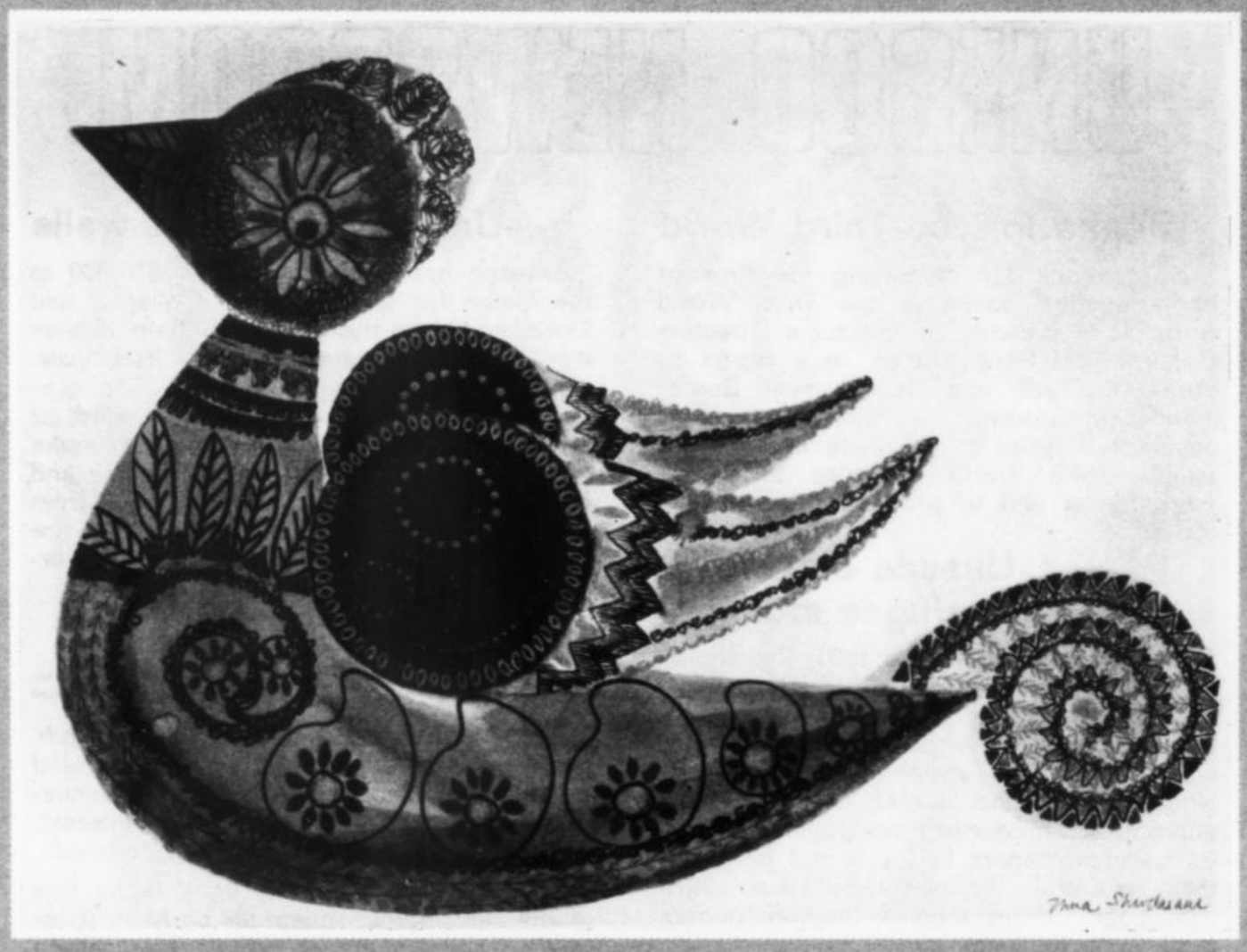
For this reason, one of Coleman's findings is of great significance, namely that "the average Negro elementary child is in schools where 16 per cent of the students are whites"; the proportion rises in secondary schools, but in 1966, it was still only 24 per cent.

In this connexion it should be pointed out that the U.S. Government and the law courts are strongly committed to reducing this disproportion, and are insisting on a much more significant degree of school desegration, but the actual changes in the schools take place very slowly.

The net result of all the research that has been conducted in this field is to the effect that innate racial differences in intelligence have not been demonstrated; that the obtained differences in test results are best explained in terms of the social and educational environment; that as the environmental opportunities of different racial or ethnic groups become more alike, the observed differences in test results also tend to disappear. The evidence is overwhelmingly against the view that race is a factor which determines level of intelligence.

As formulated in the Unesco "Statement on Race": "It is now generally recognized that the intelligence tests do not in themselves enable us to differentiate safely between what is due to innate capacity and what is the result of environmental influences, training and education. Wherever it has been possible to make allowances for differences in environmental opportunities, the tests have shown essential similarity in mental characteristics among human groups." ■

"Of Flight"
by Nina Shivdasani
of India.



# UNICEF GREETING CARDS

Great artists from the 11th century to the present day have combined to make the 1971 series of UNICEF Greeting Cards one of the most exciting yet produced. Sale of these cards provides UNICEF with over ten per cent of its total annual income and each card bought helps to provide food, medical care, clothing and other necessities for three out of four of the world's children now malnourished and living in desperately poor conditions. This year's cards include a series of five nativity scenes from the rich art treasures of the Vatican Library by 11th, 14th and 15th century Italian artists, a design by Gino Severini and others by contemporary artists from many countries. Also on sale is a UNICEF 1972 engagement calendar illustrated by the works of 55 artists, taking as its theme "The Child of Joy". Each illustration is accompanied by a bilingual literary quotation in a choice of five editions: English/French, English/Spanish, English/Scandinavian languages, English/Portuguese and Dutch/French.

Left: "Magi Adoration", illustration from an 11th century manuscript, and (above left) "Nativity", a 14th century painting by Lorenzo Monaco, both from the Vatican Library, and reproduced by courtesy of the Holy See. Two of a set of five illustrations available in special edition or normal format.

Right: "Light in Space" 1912, by Gino Severini, in the special edition series of cards.

*UNICEF cards and envelopes are sold in boxes of ten (12 in the U.S.A.) for: $2 (U.S.A.); $1.50 (Canada); 10 F (France); 70 p (U.K.). Special Edition cards (two each of five reproductions from the Vatican Library or ten of one design by Gino Severini) cost £1.50 (U.K.): $ 2.50 (Canada and U.S.A.); 15 F (France). For orders write to: UNICEF Greeting Card Fund, 14 Stratford Place, London, W.I.; U.S.A. Committee for UNICEF, 331 East 38th St., New York, N.Y. 10016; Canadian UNICEF Committee, 737 Church St., Toronto 5, Ontario; Comité Français pour la FISE/UNICEF, 35, rue Félicien-David, Paris-16e.* **Please do not order through Unesco**

*To mark its 25th anniversary UNICEF has also issued six new boxed assortments including two series of ten Birthday or Note Cards, two series of twenty-five "Mini Cards" (for invitations, gift enclosures, short notes, etc.) and two fifty-card assortments containing Birthday Cards, Note Cards and Mini Cards.*

# UNESCO NEWSROOM

## Books for the Third World

Suggestions for increasing the flow of badly needed books to the Third World were made recently by Unesco's Director-General, Mr. René Maheu, in a report to the U.N. Trade and Development Board, meeting in Geneva. Mr. Maheu asked for payment facilities to be made available to enable Third World countries to import more books and to produce them locally.

## Unesco aids 7,000 refugee students

For the third time since 1967, Palestinian refugee students in the Gaza Strip have been able to sit for school-leaving examinations prepared by the Arab Republic of Egypt thanks to arrangements made by Unesco with the Israeli and Egyptian authorities. A courier from Unesco collected question papers in Cairo and delivered them to Gaza. He later returned to Cairo with nearly three tons of answer papers from 7,000 students.

## DDT threat to ocean life

Nearly a quarter of all DDT manufactured in the world so far is now in the oceans, says a report by the U.S. National Academy of Sciences. Persistent pesticides such as DDT, Aldrin, Chlordane, Dieldrin, etc., eventually end up in the world's oceans with "demonstrable impact" on marine life.

## University without walls

Unesco has made a grant of $10,000 to the Union for Experimenting Colleges and Universities, in the U.S.A. to help it plan the international development of its University Without Walls Programme. The programme aims to provide a new kind of undergraduate education designed to make college level programmes more flexible and more easily available to persons aged from 16 to 60 and older. Over 20 countries are interested in developing their own University Without Walls programmes.

## *Flashes...*

■ *A new Unesco Centre and Youth Club, providing a meeting-place for students and other young people for talks and discussions on subjects of international interest, was inaugurated in Florence last September.*

■ *Of 380 million children aged under five in the developing countries, probably one-quarter show signs of protein and calorie malnutrition, reports WHO.*

■ *319 million tons of iron, 2.3 million tons of lead and 6.5 million tons of phosphorus from industry are carried down the world's rivers to the sea each year.*

■ *A 1,700 page bibliography of 23,000 works in or concerning the Slavic languages and literatures is being prepared in Vienna under the sponsorship of the Austrian National Commission for Unesco.*

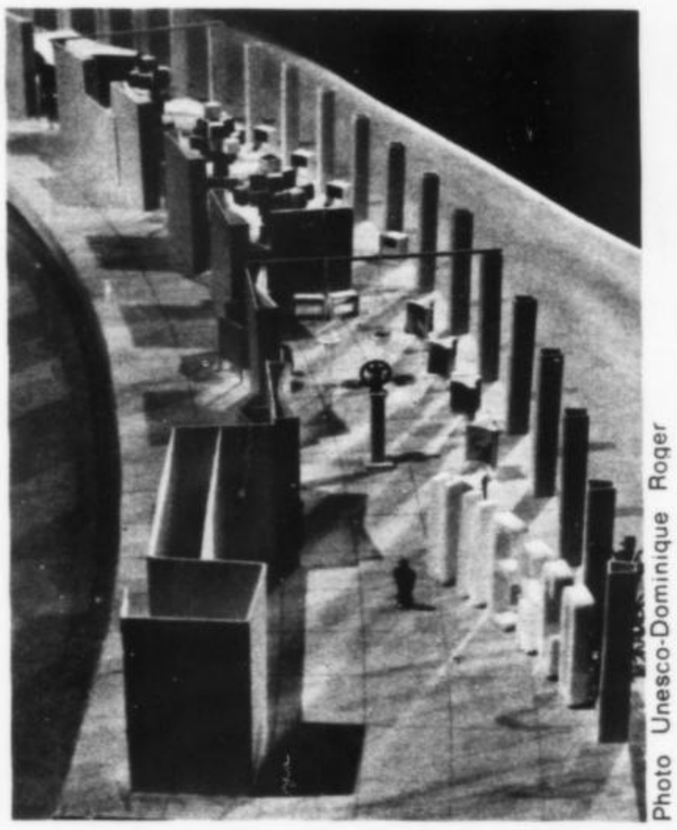


Photo Unesco-Dominique Roger

## Exhibition on Unesco's 25 years opens in Paris

An exhibition to mark Unesco's 25th anniversary is to be held at the French Radio-TV Centre (Maison de l'O.R.T.F.) in Paris from 10 to 21 November, 1971. Unesco's work over a quarter of a century is graphically presented in a series of striking displays and audio-visual devices. A computer terminal provides answers to visitors' questions on Unesco, and there will be continuous showings of a film specially produced to portray Unesco's 25 years of service to the world. Model, above, shows layout of exhibition.

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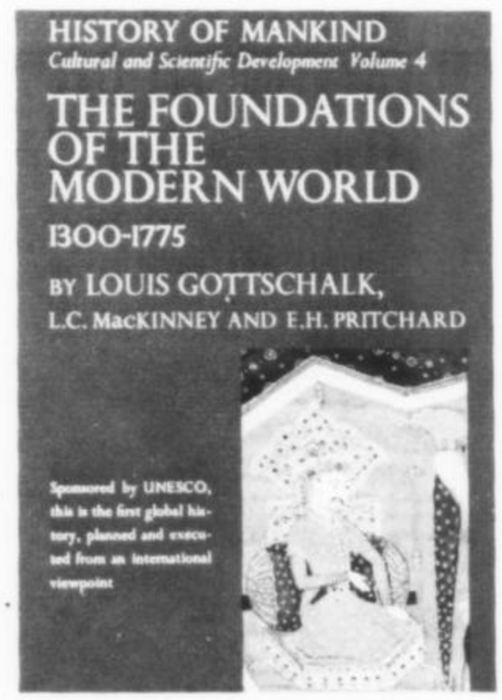
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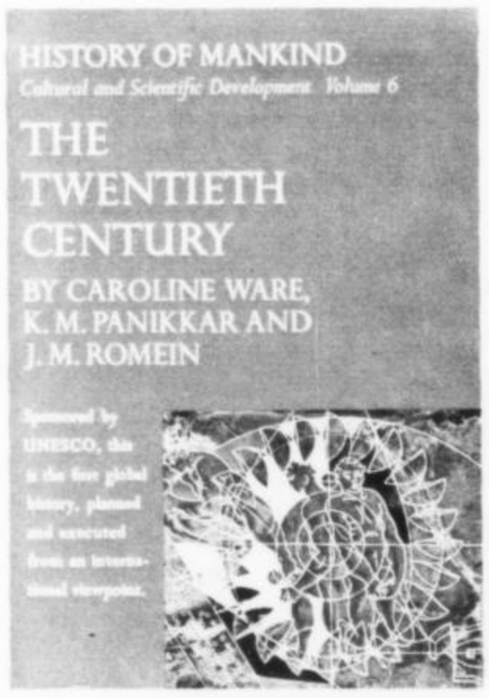
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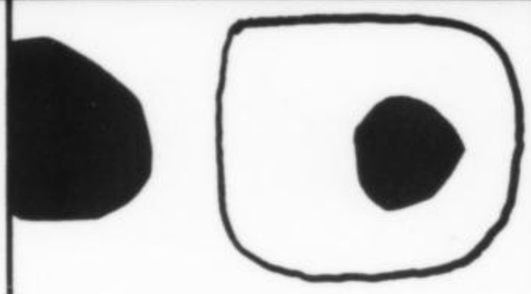
XUM

This is Little Blue.

Little Yellow is Little Blue's best friend.



One day Mama Blue says to Little Blue, "Wait for me at home."

But Little Blue wants to play with Little Yellow.

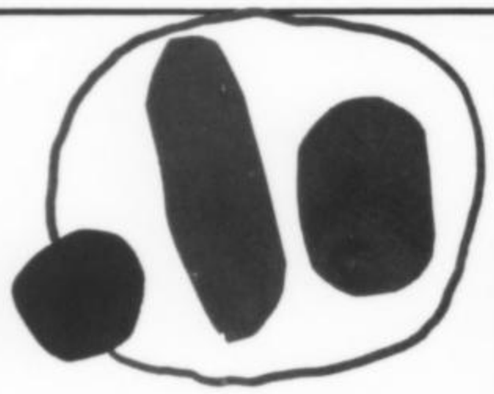
"Where is Little Yellow?" he asks.

Here he is.

They hug each other so hard that...

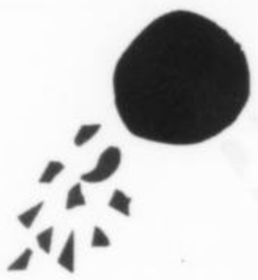
...they both turn green.

Little Blue and Little Yellow, now both green as could be, return home.



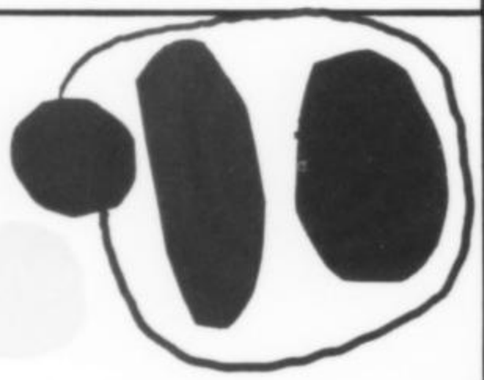
But Papa and Mama Blue say, "You are not our Little Blue, you are green."

Papa and Mama Yellow say, "You are not our Little Yellow, you are green."



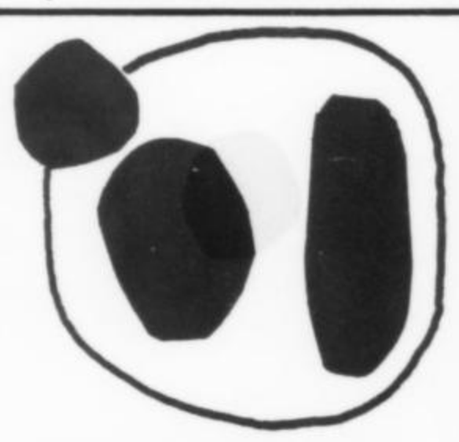
Little Blue and Little Yellow are very sad. They burst into tears, yellow and blue tears.

Suddenly they turn blue and yellow again. "Now they will recognize us," they exclaim.

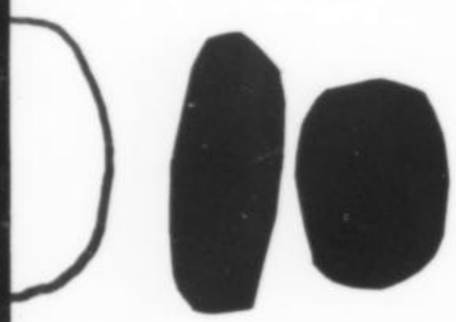


Papa and Mama Blue are overjoyed to see their Little Blue again.

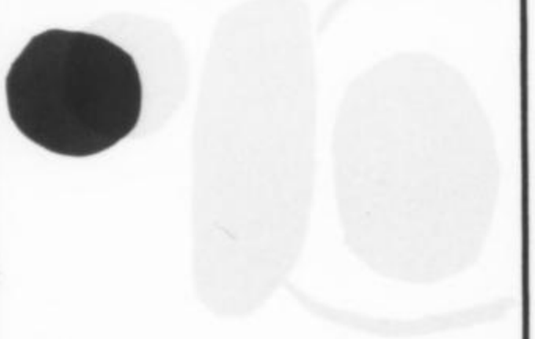
They kiss him and hug him tight.



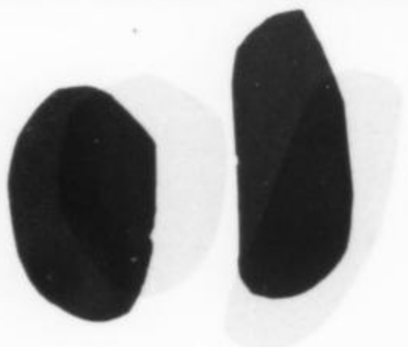
They also kiss and hug Little Yellow. As they do so, both turn green.



Now it dawns on them what has happened.



They rush to Papa and Mama Yellow to tell them the good news.



They all kiss and hug each other with joy.

All become green— without envy.

END.

# LITTLE BLUE AND LITTLE YELLOW

Above, a condensed adaptation of text and drawings taken from a children's book, written and drawn by Leo Lionni of Italy. The book tells the story of Little Blue and Little Yellow whose skins are of different colour. This they find quite natural and as they hug and play their colours rub off against each other until, finally, they both become green. Their parents, at first astonished, later recognize that green is as good as blue or yellow and in the hope of a world without colour conflict everyone turns green without envy. A book for all the world's children, "Little Blue and Little Yellow" was first published in English and has now appeared in Italian and French.

Drawings and text © Leo Lionni and Pantheon Books, New York, 1959

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